

HIMACHAL

PRESENT & FUTURE



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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. M. S. Ahluwalia

Assistant Professor of History, University Centre for Post-Graduate Studies, H. P. University, Simla

Shri S. K. Gupta

Lecturer, Directorate of Correspondence Courses, H. P. University, Simla

Shri Pran Khosla

Lecturer-cum-Research Scholar, University Centre for Post-Graduate Studies, H.P. University, Simla

Shri N.K. Sharda

Lecturer, Directorate of Correspondence Courses, H.P. University, Simla

Dr. Ranbir Sharma

Associate Professor of Political Science, University Centre for Post-Graduate Studies, H.P. University, Simla

Shri Mian Goberdhan Singh

Librarian, Secretariat Library, H.P. Government, Simla

PREFACE

My colleagues in the University who have been associated with the publication of this book have asked me to write a Preface to it. I interpret this as a courteous demand to explain why I took the initiative in introducing 'Himachal : Past, Present and Future' as a course of study at the under-graduate level in our University.

'Know thyself' is a maxim which applies to individuals as well as states and peoples. Himachal Pradesh, as a full fledged state, has come into existence only recently, though the people of the territories which have combined to form it have had a certain sense of regional identity for a long time. In fact, without this sense of regional identity the demand for the creation of a separate state of Himachal Pradesh would not have arisen or at least not met with the success it did. An informed and healthy regionalism can be the basis of a sound nationalism. It is therefore absolutely essential that the people of Himachal Pradesh, particularly its rising generation, should have a fairly good knowledge of the geography, history, politics, economics, art and culture of their state. If they read this book carefully they would realize that as the history and politics of Himachal Pradesh cannot be understood except in relation to those of other parts of India, its economic development too cannot take place in isolation from the rest of the country.

It is extremely desirable that the citizens of Himachal Pradesh should have a comprehensive and realistic picture of their state, for in the absence of such a picture they are likely to entertain delusions and misconceptions of all sorts. For example, 'money is no consideration' is the general belief in this Pradesh when it comes to state expenditure. The situation in this regard seems to be similar to what existed in Uttar Pradesh before the publication of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955. The note on Uttar Pradesh in that report by Sardar K. M. Panikkar exploded the myth of the superiority of Uttar Pradesh wrongly entertained by the people of that state in matters of administrative efficiency, literacy, etc.

Among the misconceptions which prevail in Himachal

Pradesh, the most widespread is the one regarding its affluence. It is based on the fact that the per capita income of the state is higher than that of many other states in the country. While it is true that as far as per capita income is concerned the state ranks the fifth or the sixth among the states of the Indian Union, it should not be forgotten that when it comes to expenditure by the state on the services or on developmental schemes, the per capita income must be related to the net revenue of the state and its total area. Moreover, it is not generally realised that in a poor country like India with a national per capita income of Rs. 344 and a narrow range, a place among the top five or six is not very meaningful. The gulf between India and the more prosperous countries of the world is very great. In terms of Capital Gross National Product, India's 110 dollars compare miserably with 5160 dollars of the United States. Out of about 110 countries for which figures are available, there are not more than 20—and they are mostly in Africa and Asia—whose Capital Gross National Product is less than 110 dollars.

It is extremely desirable that our people, particularly the students, should have correct information regarding the resources of the state, both actual and potential so that they recognize that there are limits to what the state can do in the field of public expenditure.

In the end I would like to thank all those who have worked to make possible the publication of this work.

1 March 1975.

R. K. Singh
Vice-Chancellor
H. P. University
Simla—171005

Himachal : Past and Present

Himachal, now known as 'the country's orchard', 'nature's paradise' and 'an abode of peace', represented in ancient times the Himalayas itself, with Nepal, Koormachal, Kedar, Jalandhara and Kashmir as its five natural divisions. It is only recently that the word Himachal (which literally means mountain of snow—Hima=snow; Achala=mountain) has come to have a restricted meaning and stands for a portion of the Himalayan tract which could be identified with 'Jalandhara Khanda' of the Puranas. During early times, Himachal was also called *Dev Bhoomi* (the land of gods).

However, in the present context, Himachal Pradesh stands for a hilly and mountainous region, situated between 30°22'—33°12' N and 70°47'—79°04' E. It comprises the former hill states and areas ceded by Panjab. Himachal Pradesh first came into being as a centrally administered territory on 15 April 1948 by the integration of 30 former Panjab states. Bilaspur, another princely state, which remained a separate part 'C' state, merged with it in 1954. The Pradesh had an area of 28,192 km. until October 1966. On 1 November 1966, as a result of the reorganization of the state of Panjab, certain parts of Panjab were transferred to Himachal Pradesh under the Panjab Reorganization Act of 1966. These comprised the districts of Kangra, Kulu, Simla, and Lahaul and Spiti, and parts of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur and Ambala districts. Himachal Pradesh in its present form has an area of 55,673 sq. km. and a population of 3,460,434 (1971); and as the eighteenth state of India (which came into being on 25 January 1971) is bigger than Kerala, Nagaland, Panjab or Haryana. To its north-west lies Kashmir, to its south-west lie Panjab and Uttar Pradesh, and towards the north-east its boundary is contiguous with Tibet.

Physical Features

Himachal is a hilly and mountainous tract. Geographically, it forms part of the Panjab Himalayas, and thus presents an intricate pattern of mountain ranges, hills and valleys. Its altitude

varies from about 450 m to 6500 m above sea level. There is general increase in elevation from west to east and from south to north. From south to north, physiographically (relating to physical geography), the region can be divided into the following three zones:

(a) *Outer Himalaya or the Siwaliks or the Southern Zone*

The southern zone consists of low hills of Siwaliks (about 600 m). 'The Siwaliks were known to ancient geographers as "Mainak Parbat". Siwaliks literally means "tresses of the Shiva". They are composed of highly unconsolidated deposits which easily lend themselves to erosion. They maintain almost a regular course from Ravi to Yamuna in the south of the region. Siwaliks have been highly deforested and eroded.'

(b) *The Lesser Himalaya or the Central Zone*

The Lesser Himalaya is a region which consists of higher mountains (12,000–15,000 feet) cut into by deep ravines and precipitous defiles. It is marked by a gradual elevation towards the Dhauladhar and the Pir Panjal ranges. In the south the rise is more abrupt in the Simla hills. To the south of Simla is the high peak of Chaur (3,647 m). North of the Sutlej the rise is gradual.'

(c) *The Great Himalaya and Zaskar or Northern Zone*

To the north of the Pir Panjal and Dhauladhar ranges are the more lofty mountain-ranges, known as the Great Himalaya and Zaskar ranges. They rise above the snow-line into peaks of perpetual snow. 'The Great Himalaya range (5,000-6,000 m) runs along the eastern boundary and is cut across by the defile of the Sutlej. The range separates the drainage of the Spiti from that of the Beas. The Zaskar range is the easternmost range and separates Spiti and Kinnaur from Tibet.'

Peaks and Passes

While discussing the mountain geography (orography) of Himachal mention about peaks and passes cannot be avoided. In fact, peaks, particularly the white snow-clad peaks, are the most prominent landmarks of the region. 'The Dhauladhar range looks in supreme majesty over the Kangra Valley while Pir Panjal, the Great Himalaya and Zaskar ranges stand guard over Chamba, Lahaul Spiti, Kulu and Kinnaur.' The peaks are so many that a complete account of them will weary the reader. However, it may be remembered that the high snow-clad peaks are mostly concentrated in the northern zone—the Great Himalaya and

Zaskar. Some of the peaks of the region over 18,000 feet above sea level are Manirung, Shilla, Riwo Phargyul, Deotiba, Ghasa, etc.

As regards passes, they are many, but again concentrated mostly in the Great Himalaya and Zaskar ranges. Most of the passes remain closed from December to March. The important passes of the region are Kangla, Baralacha, Parang, Pia Parbati, Rohtang, Manirung, Gumrang, Sholarung, Taklingla, Singo-la, Kunzum, etc.

Glaciers

The Great Himalaya and Zaskar ranges also house many glaciers. For glacier, the local term is shigri, perhaps derived from a big shigri glacier that once created great havoc. Diyamir is another glacier of large dimensions that descends to the level of 9400 feet above sea level near the village Tarshing.

Drainage or River Systems

Rivers, with their tributary systems, are the main channels of drainage of the land surface. They are at the same time also the chief agents of land-erosion and the main lines for the transport of the products of the land to the sea. The drainage systems of the two regions, Peninsular and extra-Peninsular India, having had to accommodate themselves to two very widely divergent types of topography, are necessarily very different in character. Himachal falls into the drainage system of the extra-Peninsular area. The main channels of drainage in the region are the Chandra Bhaḡa or the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, the Sutlej and the Yamuna. The catchments of these rivers are fed by snow and rainfall and protected by an extensive cover of natural vegetation. The unique distinction of the Himachal region is that it provides water both to the Indus and the *Ganga* basins. A brief survey of the major river systems of the region will help us in understanding better the drainage system of the Pradesh.

The Chandra Bhaḡa or the Chenab

Its Vedic name is Asikni. It is the longest river of Himachal in terms of volume of water. It is formed out of the two streams—Chandra and Bhaḡa, which after their confluence at Tandi flow as a joint stream for 122 km. before entering Kashmir. With its total length of 1200 km., it has a catchment area of 61000 km. out of which 7500 km. lie in Himachal.

The Ravi

Its Vedic name is Parushni, which around 1000 B. C. seems

to have got changed to Iravati. It rises in Bara Bangahal as a joint stream formed by the glacier-fed Bhadal and Tant-Guri. The river with its length of about 158 km. in Himachal has a catchment area of about 5451 km. Chamba town lies on its right bank.

The Beas

In olden days, it was known as Arjikiya and Vipasa. It rises in the Pir Panjal range near the Rohtang pass. After flowing for about 256 km. in Himachal, it moves out to the plains at Mirthal. During August, its inflow increases considerably and results many a time in floods.

The Sutlej

Its ancient names were Sutudri and Shatadru. It originates in the distant highlands of Tibet and after crossing the Indo-Tibetan border near Shipkila, and joined by the Spiti river, it flows in the south-westerly direction in Himachal. It emerges from the mountains at the Bhakra gorge where Gobind Sagar is impounded behind the Bhakra dam. The total catchment area up to Bhakra dam in Himachal region is 20,000 km.

The Yamuna

As the Ganga rises from Gangotri, the Yamuna rises from Yamunotri in Uttar Kashi (H.P.). Its total catchment area that falls in Himachal is 2320 km. It leaves the Pradesh near Tajewala headworks and enters the state of Haryana.

Climate

There is much diversification in the climatic conditions of Himachal Pradesh. Differences in aspect and elevation have given rise to various micro-climates. The various climatic zones in the region range from 'sub-tropical (450 m—900 m) to warm temperate (900 m—1800 m), cool temperate (1800 m—2400 m), cold high mountain (2400 m—4000 m) and snowy frigid (above 4000 m). The climate of Lahaul, Spiti and Kinnaur is semi-arid highland type'. Compared to the Panjab plains, the climate of the region, in general, is differentiated from that of the plains by a shorter and less severe hot weather, a somewhat higher precipitation and colder and more prolonged winter.

Rainfall

There is also great diversification in the distribution of rainfall in the region. It varies from 500 mm to 3400 mm. Dharamsala

is the rainiest place. The exceptionally heavy rainfall, measuring 3400 mm in Dharamsala (Dhauladhar range) is due to the 'interplay of monsoon currents and the sudden rise (from 900 m in the valley to over 3700 m in the Dhauladhar) and the particular alignment of mountain ranges and hills. Simla and Nurpur lie in a rainfall zone of 1500—2000 mm. Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Kangra, Palampur and Jogindernagar lie in a zone exceeding 2000 mm, but beyond this zone of maximum rainfall, there is gradual decrease towards Mandi, Rampur, Kulu, Kalpa and Keylong. Most of Lahaul and Spiti receive less than 500 mm of precipitation. The number of rainy days varies from 48.6 at Keylong to 99.3 at Dharamsala.'

Snowfall

During winter, it snows in many parts of Himachal Pradesh. Snowfalls, however, usually take place in the months of December and January although unusual falls may occur early or late. Usually snow does not lie for any length of time below 2000 m elevation and rarely falls below 1250 m. At an elevation of about 3000 m the average snowfall is 3 m and lasts for about 4 months from November to February or December to March. Above 4500 m, there is perpetual snow.

Seasons

In Himachal, the year is popularly divided into the following three seasons.

(a) The Barsat or the Rainy Season

It lasts from July to September. During this spell, Himachal witnesses heavy rains caused by the monsoon currents that blow from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea towards the Himalayas. With the advent of the rainy season, the landscape becomes fresh and green, small water channels or rivulets begin to swell, and springs get replenished.

(b) The Hyund or the Cold Season

It begins when the skies clear up and lasts until the end of February. As referred to above, December and January are quite cold, as it snows during these two months. Because of the severity of the cold, the Gaddis and the semi-nomadic shepherds descend from the mountain slopes to the valley areas. Light rainfall in the winter is much valued for rabi harvests especially in the barani and unirrigated tracts.

(c) The Taundi or the Hot Season

In the month of March when the severity of winter is over

and the temperature starts rising, a new season begins. During May and June, the weather gets quite hot and dusty and 'a fine haze hangs over the hills after mid-day obliterating the distant view. In the valley bottoms and the southern low tracts people feel the oppression of the heat. It is somewhat mitigated by the winds up the valley in the day and down the mountain slopes at night. Occasional thunder storms accompanied by light showers also bring relief.' There is a great rush of tourists from the plains to the hill stations during this season.

Geology

Geologically, the area stretching from Kashmir to Himachal is divided into the following four broad stratigraphical (based on the geological study of strata) zones, which do not correspond to the geographical zones as a rule :

(i) Outer or Sub-Himalayan Zone

It is also known as the Siwaliks or the foothill zone. It is composed almost entirely of Tertiary (refers to the third great division of the geological record and time), and principally of upper Tertiary sedimentary river deposits. On palaeontological grounds, the geologists have further 'subdivided the Siwaliks into three main groups : (i) Upper (ii) Middle and (iii) Lower (or Nahan). The Sirmur series are also represented by 3 groups : (1) Kasauli, (2) Dagshai, and (3) Sabathu. The Sirmur series are separated by a fault from the Siwaliks series, and it is along this fault line that the epicentre of Kangra earthquake was situated. The Kasauli deposits consist of grey or purple sandstones. Dagshai deposits also consist of grey or purple sandstones but with bands of bright red or purple homogeneous clay. The Sabathu deposits consist of greenish grey or red gypseous shales with bands of limestone and sandstone.'

(ii) Lower Himalayan Zone

It lies between the 'Main Boundary Thrust' and the 'Central Himalayan Thrust'. Most of this zone consists of granite and other crystalline rocks of unfossiliferous sediments. It is the Karol belt, stretching from the Simla region towards the east continuing almost throughout Garhwal and Kumaon Himalaya that separates this region from the Siwalik system.

(iii) Higher Himalayan Zone

It can be 'recognized only in the eastern part of the region, covering the southern part of the Spiti region. The rocks lack

fossils.' In fact, it is mostly composed of crystalline and metamorphic rocks—granites, gneisses, and schists, with unfossiliferous sedimentary deposits of the ancient age.

(iv) *Tibetan (Spiti) or Tethys Himalayan Zone*

'On the north of the crystalline rocks of the Higher Himalayan zone there follow sediments of the wide basin known as the Spiti region covering the Spiti Valley.' This zone is composed of a continuous series of highly fossiliferous marine sedimentary rocks, ranging in age from the earliest Palaeozoic to the Eocene age. Though it remains largely unstudied by the geologists, its richness in fossils and the nearly continuous well-exposed sections have made Spiti region world famous.

Flora

Himachal Pradesh has a diversified and rich flora because of the existence of a variety of climates and a wide range of altitudes. 'Here we come across every type of West Himalayan Flora from Himalayan meadows and high level fir and rhododendron down to tropical scrub and bamboo forests of the low foothills.' There are 2 three climatic altitudinal zones of natural vegetation.

Vegetation zone	Altitudes in metres
(a) Tropical and sub-tropical	300—1525
(b) Temperate	1525—3650
(c) Alpine	3650—4650

The free line is reached at about 3,950 m beyond which are the Himalayan meadows. The snow line is reached at about 4,600 m.

Forests

While discussing the flora or the natural vegetation of the region, special reference needs to be made to the forests, which cover an area of 26,768 km. or about 48 per cent of the total area. The Forest Department has classified this area into six groups : (i) reserved forests, (ii) demarcated protected forests, (iii) undemarcated protected forests (iv) unclassified forests, (v) other forests, and (vi) forests not under the control of the Forest Department. However, the forests, though they cover a large area, are not uniformly distributed throughout the region. These are mostly confined to higher hills and interior valleys because in the lower and more accessible areas, the forests have been cleared to make room for cultivation and settlement.

According to composition, the forests can be classified as under :

(a) *Coniferous Forests* : Coniferous forests comprise of trees that have cone-bearing leaves. Chir, deodar, kail, spruce, silver fir and chilgoza pine are coniferous species.

(b) *Broad-leaved Forests* : As is clear from the name itself, the trees that have broad leaves form these forests. Sal, ban oak, mohru oak, kharsu oak, walnut, maple, bird cherry, horse chestnut, poplar, alder, semal, tun and shisham are broad-leaved species. This classification, however, does not give a complete picture of the forests of the region. It would be better if we look into the classification of the forests made on the basis of climate and altitude. There are the following nine forest types :

(i) *Dry Alpine Forests*

These are mainly found in Lahaul, Kinnaur and Pangi. The main species are juniper, artemesia, lonicera, cotoneaster, etc.

(ii) *Moist Alpine Scrub Forests*

These are found above the limit of tree growth and consist of evergreen scrub growth. The main species are salix, lonicera, viburnum, etc. Besides, medicinal herbs such as aconite, dhoop and karu also occur in these areas.

(iii) *Sub-Alpine Forests*

These occur above the altitude of 3500 m and below the moist Alpine scrub zone. Kharsu and betula are the important species of this type of forests.

(iv) *Himalayan Moist Temperate and Mixed Forests*

These forests occur between an altitude of 1500–3500 m and cover a large area. Among this type of forests, the main species are deodar, kail, silver fir and spruce. These species are concentrated mainly in Chaupal, Pabar Valley, Simla, Kotgarh, Kinnaur, Nachau, Kulu, Seraj, Chamba and Churah divisions. Dry deodar forests occur in Kinnaur and Pangi divisions only. Besides, horse chestnut, bird cherry, walnut, maple and poplar species also form part of these forests.

(v) *Wet Temperate Forests*

These are chiefly confined to the wet slopes of Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Kangra and Palampur and include various temperate species.

(vi) Sub-Tropical Pine Forests

These occur between 1000-2200 m. Chil-pine is the main species. Both lower or Siwalik chil-pine and upper or Himalayan chil-pine are met with in Suket, Chamba, Nachau, Mandi, Kotgarh, Simla, Champal, Pathankot, Kangra, Beas and Hoshiarpur divisions.

(vii) Sub-tropical Broad-leaved Hill Forests

These occur below 1200 m. and are mainly found east to west from Mandi along the Beas.

(viii) Northern Tropical Dry Deciduous Forests

These occur upto 1250 m in the lower hills extending in the interior valleys along rivers. Sal is the main species and mainly concentrated in Nahan and Bharwain range of Hoshiarpur division.

(ix) Tropical Thorn Forests

These are found around Nalagarh and Pachhad Tehsils.

As forests are of great importance for the economy of the region as well for maintaining the ecological balance of soil, water, fauna and flora, excessive fellings need to be avoided and the government should extend the area under forests to 60% as laid down in the National Forest Policy.

Fauna

It stands for the animals of the region. Like flora, Himachal Pradesh also has a variety of fauna, due chiefly to the different climates found in the tropical *dun*, the Siwaliks and other hills, long river basins, and sub-Alpine heights. Besides, large area of the region is covered by forests. Among the carnivorous animals, there are leopard or panther, known by various names such as bagh, baghera, and annith, hyaena, ibex, jackal, wild dog, the yellow jungle cat and fox, flying squirrel, wolf, marmot, the nabbo or burral, etc. Elephants and tigers, which were plentiful in the *dun* area in the nineteenth century are now almost extinct species. The sambar, chital, log deer, chausingha, barking deer, ghural and pig are found in the tropical tracts. The sambar prefers the low hills, the chital the sal forests of the *dun* and chausingha its open grassy glades. The barking deer (kakar) keeps to the forests on the hills and ghural to the precipices. The black bear wanders from the higher forests to the lower ones where he remains during the winter. Hares, jungle-fowl, pea-fowl, partridges, bush quail are plentiful in parts of the *dun* and low hills ; and the

kalej pheasant (kolsar) is found here and there on the low slopes. Serow and musk deer (kastura) are found on the higher hills.

The domestic animals found in the region are not very different from the plains. The cattle available in the hill areas are, however, small in number, and inferior in quality. The cow gives here, on an average, from one to two seers of milk a day, but a trans-Giri cow is milked thrice daily and can give five seers a day. Bulls, buffaloes, sheep, goats, horses, ponies, mules, etc., are the important domestic animals of the region. Besides, in Lahaul and Spiti, another animal, yak, peculiarly adapted to the climate of the country it inhabits, is domesticated. The yak cannot live long below an elevation of 10,000 feet. At this altitude it degenerates. It is said that all attempts at domesticating it even in the highest parts of Kulu have failed. Its tail, of a fine silky wool, frequently grey or of a creamy white, termed as chowrie is much valued. It is used in durbars, courts and gurdwaras, where it is a custom to wave a chowrie, richly set in silver handles. To make it more manageable and useful, the people in Lahaul and Spiti now cross the yak with the cow, and the hybrid is regarded as a better animal both for plough and dairy, the milk of the hybrid cow being more plentiful and far richer and sweeter than that procurable from either the female yak or the pure cow.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PEOPLE

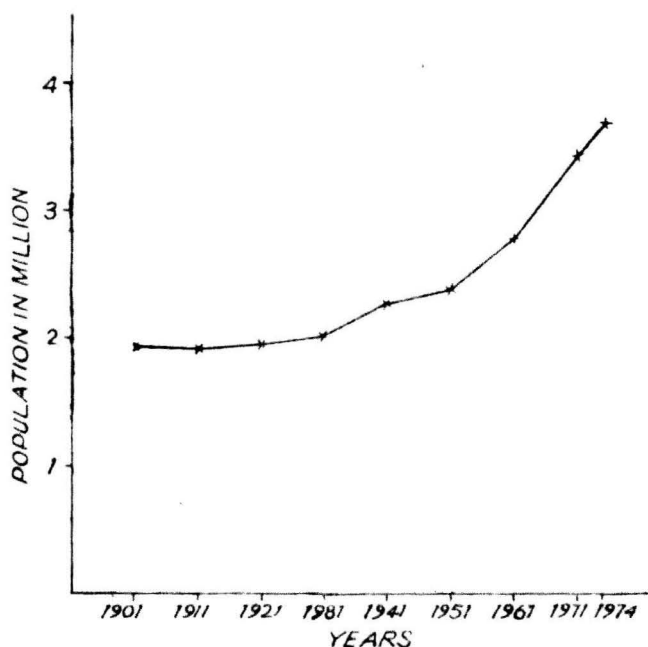
S.K. Gupta

M.B. Lal, in his article, 'Transition to Statehood without Agitation or Violence', published in *The Statesman* (New Delhi, 20 August 1970) has stated that Himachal has been granted statehood not 'because of the size or population, nor because of its area but because of the need to preserve the distinctive cultural entity of its people'. Undoubtedly, the people of the hills differ from those of the adjoining plains, yet, while saying so, M.B. Lal seems to have been referring to those tribes or semi-nomadic, semi-agricultural and semi-pastoral people living in the Great Himalaya, the Zaskar, the Pir Panjal, the Panji, and the Dhauladhar ranges, or, to be more precise, in the Lahaul-Spiti region, Kinnaur, some parts of Simla, Kulu, Chamba districts, etc., who are an admixture of the Indo-Aryan and the Mongolian races. The main tribes of Himachal Pradesh are the Gaddis, Gujjars, Kinners or Kanaurs, Jads (Lambas, Khampas and Bhots or Bhods), Lahaulis, Pangwalas and Swanglas. The people living in the outer Himalaya or the Siwaliks have much in common with those in the plains of Panjab except that the former are fairer in complexion because of the climatic factors. In fact, both in the medieval and later periods, there have been inter-migrations to these areas, being comparatively easily accessible, and thus they are somewhat similar in their habits and cultural moorings to the people of the plains. The Brahmans and the Rajputs had migrated from the plains during the lawlessness of Aurangzeb. The Sikhs settled in parts of Himachal while fighting the hilly rulers or having been driven by the Mughals. Himachal Pradesh also had its share of displaced persons numbering about 4660 as a result of the partition.

In general, the people of Himachal are honest, hospitable, peace-loving, deeply religious and follow their community codes very rigidly. The hill women work harder than the menfolk and are robust. They are beautiful, modest and known for their sweet voice.

Population and its Composition

Most of the population of Himachal lives in the valleys and lower slopes of the hills and mountains. In 1901 it had a population of approximately 1·92 million. Partly with an increase in area and partly because of other factors, it increased to 2·81 million in 1961. However, the overall growth rate (46·46%) during the period has been rather slow, which can be explained by the difficulties of terrain and lack of economic opportunities, and the non-availability of medical, health and sanitation facilities. If we look to the decennial growth curve of the period as given below, we shall find that the curve shows a gentle upward trend upto 1931 with a slight decrease (-23,350) in 1911 due to natural calamities such as the Kangra earthquake (1905), epidemics, etc. Since 1931 the curve becomes steeper but the maximum decennial variation is 11·54% in 1931-41 and is only 5·42 during 1941-51. Between 1951-71, the curve shows a very steep rise. During these twenty years, the total growth rate was (45%)—on an average 2·5% per year, almost equal to the total growth rate of population between 1901 to 1961. This is mainly due to the construction of



hydro-electric projects in Himachal, considerable improvements in 'communications and commerce leading to greater influx of people from the plains, increased medical facilities, decreased mortality, development of irrigational facilities, increased electrification, influx of Tibetan population and better enumeration of population'.

Table showing Decennial Growth Rate

(Figures in Millions)

1901 : 1.92	1931 : 2.03	1961 : 2.81
1911 : 1.90	1941 : 2.27	1971 : 3.46
1921 : 1.93	1951 : 2.39	1974* : 3.70

*The figure has been arrived at by adding three years' population on an average growth rate of 2.30 percent per year.

Distribution and Density of Population

As is natural, there is a distinct clustering of population in the valleys. Areas with harsh climate and steep inclines are thinly populated while the high rugged mountain ranges with snow-capped pinnacles and forest-clad slopes are practically without any human habitation. According to the Census Report of 1971 (see density table given below), the densely populated districts are Bilaspur, Kangra, Simla, Mandi, Sirmur and Mahasu.

Density of Population, 1971*

Name of State/ District	Population**	Area in sq. km.	Density of Population per sq. km.
Himachal Pradesh	3,460,434	55,673	62
1. Kangra	1,327,211	8,397	158
2. Mandi	515,180	4,018	128
3. Mahasu	440,118	5,652	78
4. Chamba	255,233	8,195	31
5. Sirmur	245,033	2,825	87
6. Simla	217,129	1,416	153
7. Bilaspur	194,786	1,167	167
8. Kulu	192,371	5,435	35
9. Kinnaur	49,835	6,553	8
10. Lahaul and Spiti	23,538	12,015	2

*Area figures are according to Survey General and are provisional, as on 1 July 1971.

**The table is based on paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Totals, Census of India, H. P., 1971.

In general the area between the lower Sutlej and the Kangra valley has a greater concentration because of larger areas of comparatively level terrain for agriculture and better means of transportation. The area as a whole is also economically more developed. In the rest of the area, the population is scattered in limited tracts of forest clearings, along rivers and roads and near the towns.

'The trans-Himalayan tracts of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti carry very little population as they are semi-arid high land zones.'

Rural and Urban Population

Himachal has very few towns with a population of even 10,000. Most of the populace of Himachal lives in villages. According to the 1971 Census, 93.06% of the total population is rural and only 6.94% is urban. Simla district has the lowest proportion of rural population (147,997). Its urban population is 69,132, of which the population of Simla town alone is 55,368. Lahaul and Spiti, and Kinnaur have 100% rural population.

Sex Ratio :

Although there was a marked increase in the sex ratio between 1901 (885 females per 1000 males) and 1961 (923 females per 1000 males), yet Himachal Pradesh had less number of females in 1961 compared to the national average of 941. But the position during the following decade has reversed. According to the 1971 Census, there are 958 females per 1000 males as compared to 932 for India as a whole. Kangra district has the highest sex ratio (1028 females per 1000 males) while Lahaul and Spiti has the lowest ratio (814 females per 1000 males).

Himachal was regarded as comparatively a backward part of India with a low percentage of literacy. In 1951, the percentage of literacy was only 4.8% according to 1951 census. Between 1951, and 1971, it has made much progress in the educational sphere. There are now 6869 schools as compared to 546 in 1951. It has also now its own University (1970) with a Post-graduate Centre at Simla and 22 affiliated degree colleges. Besides, the University runs Correspondence Courses both at the post-graduate and undergraduate levels. According to the 1971 Census, the percentage of literacy now in Himachal is 31.3, which is higher than the national average. It may, however, be pointed out that this increase is due

partly to the merger of new areas (1966) which have a higher percentage of literates. The percentage of female literacy in Himachal is 20.

Occupational Structure

In Himachal, the ratio of the working force of total population is much higher compared to the national average. 55.2% of its population is employed in various occupations. In Lahaul and Spiti, the percentage of workers is as high as 70.2 (1961). 83.4% (1961) of its total population is however engaged in agriculture and other primary production like forestry, fishing, gardening, hunting, mining, etc., 7.9% (1961) in craft, small-scale industries and commerce, and 6.9% (1961) in services.

Religion

In Himachal, there are five important religious communities : the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhists and the Jains. The bulk of the population is, however, formed by the Hindus who are 3,324,627 (1971) in number and constitute 96.08 per cent of the population. The Muslims occupy a poor second position with 1.45 per cent share in the total population, their actual number being 50,327. They have some concentrations in the districts of Chamba, Kangra and Sirmur in that order. The Sikhs and the Buddhists also claim a little over 1 per cent of the population. The majority of the Sikhs live in Kangra, Simla, Mandi and Sirmur districts, while the Buddhists are concentrated in the districts of Lahaul and Spiti, Kinnaur, and Kulu. There is a very small Christian population of only 3556, sprinkled over the whole Pradesh and they constitute only 0.1 per cent of the total population. The Jains are only 626 in number.

The people of Himachal are deeply religious. Though many Hindus of the region worship Rama and Krishna with great reverence, their presiding diety is Shiva. The Kailash peak is regarded to be the abode of Lord Shiva, and every year the Gaddis and pilgrims from the various neighbouring states visit the shrine on the 15th day after Janmashtami. In the Chaurasi area in Brahmaur there is another magnificent temple dedicated to Harihar. 'It has numerous Shivalings. In Brahmaur proper, there is no temple dedicated to Lakshmi Narain, Krishna and Rama although the people observe Janmashtami and Ram Navami too.' Besides these well-known Hindu dieties, the hill people worship many local Devis and Devatas, and in their honour many melas

(fairs) are held. On the occasion of these fairs, 'the village divinity is brought from either the temple or treasure-house, and decked with his silver or gold mask, and dressed out with petticoats and flowers, placed on the rath or sedan-chair, it is then carried on the shoulders of two men preceded by attendants....' In order to please these gods and goddesses, the hill-folk beat drums and blow enormously long and curved trumpets of brass or copper, and dance with great fervour and enthusiasm.

The people of the Pradesh, particularly the villagers have great belief in charms, magic enchantments, ghosts and evil spirits. *Jalparis matris* (water nymphs), Kali, Bانشira, Dags, etc., are considered to be the most important spirits in Simla hills. The people perform the rituals associated with the dev-samskar (people who have passed away) with great care, otherwise they believe that the spirits of the deceased will not rest in peace and could haunt and harm them. Animal sacrifice is also common among the people.

Among the people of other religious communities, the Muslims in the villages follow Saint Lakh Data and are called Shaikhs. The Christians are adherents of the Church of England, the Church of St. Michael the Archangel, the Church of St. Xavier, the Union Church, etc. Most of the Buddhists of the region belong to the third school of Buddhism, Vajrayana that became most important in the Himalayas. The people of this sect also rely on magical formulae (Mantras) and magical ceremonies (Tantras) and have introduced to Buddhism a pantheon of goddesses (Taras).

Language

Besides Hindi, Urdu, English and Panjabi, the people of the region have various dialects of their own, some of which are only intelligible to their own group, area or tribe. The languages of the region are mostly Sanskritic in origin, and are chiefly a mixture of Sanskrit, Urdu, Pahari, a patois of the hills, with an infusion of Tibetan words (the last is more true in case of dialects spoken in the Lahaul and Spiti region) while the census report of 1881 gives the name 'Pahari' to the language used from Sirmur on the one hand to Kangra and Bhadrawah in Kashmir on the other. Dr. Grierson calls it 'Western Pahari' (the Aryan language spoken in Himalayan natural division comprising the sub-Himalayas extending from Jaunswar Bawar tract of Dehra Dun to Bhadrawah),

'Eastern Pahari' and Central Pahari being spoken in Nepal, and Garhwal and Kumaon respectively. However, Dr. Y. S. Parmar, in his book *Himachal Pradesh—Area and Language*, (a government publication of 1970) has stressed the separate entity of the 'Pahari' language or dialects, spoken in the Himachal region. He has refuted the belief that Kangri, Kehluri (Bilaspuri), Hinduri (Nalagarhi), etc., are the dialects of 'Panjabi'. He has pointed out that 'Pahari' and 'Panjabi' have different scripts. While the Panjabi script is 'Lhanda' or 'Gurmukhi', 'Pahari' was 'never' written in these scripts and it was written in "Tankri" or "Thakuri" as the old records and reports testify'. He further says that 'this script was gradually replaced by Urdu due to various integrating forces and administrative convenience. Later it was replaced by "Hindi" (Devnagri). However, the fact remains that besides being spoken, "Pahari" language had a script which was different from the Panjabi "Lhanda" or "Gurmukhi" scripts. "Pahari" had thus an independent existence and status of its own and this disproves the suggestions that it was a dialect of "Panjabi".' However, he seems to accept, and it cannot be denied, that the language of the region is not as developed as those of the plains or other regions. It, however, compares fairly well with some languages recognized in the constitution, such as 'Sindhi', which is spoken by refugees scattered all over the country. Dr. Y. S. Parmar says that 'contrary to this, "Pahari" is the language of a compact block, of a population residing in a Pradesh and in areas contiguous to it and it has been throughout ages the living vehicle of expression of over 40 lac of people'.

The various dialects spoken in the region are Mandiali in Mandi ; Kuluhi or Kuluri in Kulu ; Kehluri or Bilaspuri in Kehlur or Bilaspur ; Hinduri (Nalagarhi) in Nalagarh ; Chameali in Chamba ; Sirmauri in Sirmur ; Kinnauri in Kinnaur ; Suketi in Suket ; Seoraji in Seoraj and Mahsuri in Mahasu region. Gaddi is spoken by the inhabitants of the range which divides Kangra from Chamba. The Lahaulis make use of four dialects ; the true Tibetan, Boonuun, Manchat and Teenuun, while in Spiti pure Tibetan is mainly spoken. In Kangra, apart from Kangri, Dogri is getting popular, perhaps, because of its associations with the martial race. In Una, about three-fourths of the people speak Hindi and about one-fourth speak Panjabi (Census Report 1961).

Social Life

The society of Himachal is a unique blend of tribal and non-tribal, semi-civilized and civilized; pastoral and semi-industrial, or, in short, that of hill and plains life. The people living, particularly in the Outer Himalayas or Siwaliks have a social structure much similar to the people of the plains. They are divided broadly into four traditional castes, Brahmin, Kashtriya, Vaishya, and Sudra, with multiple sub-castes. The village-folk in particular are conservative people and follow their community codes rigidly. Though the people of the higher castes do not adhere to the codes of untouchability as rigidly as those of the south, they do keep distinctions by way of restrictions on inter-dining, inter-marriage, and in terms of locality, etc. The ruling class in the region are Rajputs—the Rawats, the Rathis, the Katochs, the Chandels, etc. As in the plains, family structure is patriarchal (governed by paternal right). The joint-family system is on the wane. Although certain ceremonies and customs differ from those prevailing in the plains of Panjab or in the Lower and Great Himalayas and the Zaskar ranges yet they have relatively strict moral codes when compared to the people living in the higher altitudes.

Leaving aside a few important towns or district headquarters (where the native populace, having come into contact with the service and educated class, has considerably changed in outlook, manners and customs), the social set-up of the people living, in particular, in the upper parts of the Lower Himalaya, the Great Himalaya, the Zaskar, the Pangti and the Dhauladhar ranges does not have any similarity with that of the plains, and is much different from those living in the Siwaliks. Most of the people living in these areas form the tribal population of Himachal. Although the study of tribes is very interesting and each tribe in itself can be a topic of research, yet keeping in view the limitations of chapter, we shall only survey briefly the social life of the important tribes referred to above.

The Gaddis

They are a semi-nomadic, semi-agricultural and semi-pastoral tribe. Half of the year they spend in their villages cultivating their fields and the remaining half in migration in search of grass and fodder for their herds and seasonal employment for themselves. They are simple, fierce, stalwart and virtuous and live in joint families. The women-folk are pleasing and comely and seem

to have relatively strict moral codes as they have the reputation of being modest and chaste. Though the majority of the Gaddis do feel their migratory life of six months inconvenient yet they cannot help it because of the scarcity of fodder, the unsuitability of snow-fall to the sheep and goat, the health hazards of severe winter and the non-availability of seasonal employment in the regions they inhabit.

The Gujjars

The Gujjars are mostly pastoral and live a purely nomadic life. They, unlike the Gaddis, wander throughout the year in search of grazing pastures for their cattle, which mostly consist of buffaloes and cows. They claim their milk and milk-products to be entirely pure and unadulterated. They live mostly in joint-family groups, and are monogamous (custom of marriage to one wife or husband at a time), patrilineal (reckoned through father or males alone) and patri-local (a custom where wife goes to live with the husband's group) people. Gujjar has a typical beard and wears a special type of turban. The women wear kurta and churidar pyjama like the Muslim women of Kashmir but do not strictly follow the purdah system or burka. The birth of a child is regarded to be a boon of God. However, a son is more welcome in the family. Child marriages, bride-price, and bata-sata or marriage by exchange are common among them.

The Kinners

The Kinners are also a pastoral tribe. Their main occupation is rearing sheep and goat, raising for wool. Many tribals are, however, engaged in agriculture and gardening too. The Kinner women are beautiful, modest, homely and hard-working, and spend most of the day working on the fields. The Kinners also live in joint families, and are polygamous (a social system in which a man normally has more than one wife) and polyandrous (a social system in which a woman normally has several husbands). A Kinner girl unable to find a suitable groom, becomes Jomo (a term used for girls remaining unmarried). 'The gents wear woollen shirts, "Chamu-Kulti", long coat, "Chubha", a woollen pyjama, "Chamu-Sutan" and ladies wear woollen sari "Dhori", full sleeved blouse, "Choli" and an indigenous "Chhauli".' The Pang, a woollen cap, also known as Bushahri cap is worn both by men and women. Their shoes are also made of wool and the hair of

goat. They are very fond of meat. Vegetarians among them are rare. They drink home-brewed wine.

The Pangwalas

'Pangwal' is a generic name meaning the people of Pangli region of the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. They are divided into higher and lower castes. The people of high castes do not eat, inter-marry with the lower castes and not even with Bhots (a name for Tibetans living in the region). The people of the region are monogamous. They are mostly engaged in farming but a few rear sheep and goat too. Because of the acute scarcity of cereals in this region, the people do not separate grain from the chaff and grind wheat with chaff. They wear woollen clothes and the ladies are fond of *mankamala* or necklaces of beads. Though marriage is regarded to be an essential institution, the Pangwalas do not marry kinsmen within five degrees. A woman has the right to divorce her husband if she is dissatisfied with him.

The Lahaulis

The Lahaulis are also divided into upper and lower classes, and are akin to Pangwalas in many respects. The caste traditions and social structure are more or less similar. They are, however, endogamous (custom forbidding marriage outside one's own group) and polyandrous. They do not permit marriages within three degrees of relationship both on father's and mother's side. Divorce is a recognized institution and the procedure is very simple. Their dresses include a *pattu* coat, a *kamarband*, and a fairly loose *pattu* pyjama with a *pattu* cap. The women wear the same dress, but adorn their dresses with ornaments on head and neck.

The Jads

Like the Pangwalas, the Jads are also a polyandrous and patrilineal tribe. Most of them are engaged in agriculture but a few also do business of wool. They wear woollen clothes and like *mankamala*. Unmarried girls in this region are also known as *Jamo*. They work for their religion (Buddhism) under the guidance of a Lama (priest).

To sum up, it may be said that among the tribes of Himachal Pradesh, some are monogamous while others are polyandrous or both; a few tribes are endogamous but all are patrilineal and patrilocal. They generally live in joint-family groups. They are mostly divided into upper and lower groups; observe untouch-

ability. Divorce is easy and among many tribes a recognized institution. Both the dowry system and bride price are prevalent. They are superstitious, mostly illiterate. As regards crime, the character of the people is good, few offences occur among them, and there are hardly occasions when they indulge in looting and arson.

The majority of the tribals are engaged in pastoral (rearing of sheep, goat, buffaloes, cows, etc.) or agricultural activities. Only a few do business and are engaged in handicrafts. However, the women are definitely more hard-working than men. It is they who mostly carry on the cultivation.

To protect their bodies from the harsh climate, the tribals invariably have to wear woollen clothes. They are fond of ornaments and necklaces of beads.

Their food mainly includes maize or wheat flour, masuri dal, vegetables (if available), meat, milk and milk-products and fruits available in the region. Tea seems to be quite common but a few, like the Lahaulis, take it without sugar. Home-brewed drink is taken frequently and on specific occasions. The use of tobacco is also very common.

Community Life

Fairs, festivals, pilgrimages, marriage celebrations and other social gatherings provide the best occasion and ground to the people of the hills to meet one another. On these occasions, the hill people not only sing and dance, be gay and merry but also come closer to one another, and their community feelings get strengthened. Such fairs and festivals are held in honour of the local god or goddess, or their origin can be found in some religious or otherwise holy or sacred concept or commemoration. In spite of being religious in character, these are highly entertaining. The people are in their best dresses ; tumultuous din of drums resounds in the air ; dancing and singing add to the festive character of the fairs. These fairs also serve as good market-places. In a nutshell, it can be said that in these fairs and festivals both the rural and the urban population participate ; while the worshippers worship ; the merry-makers make merry ; and the businessmen do their business ; those interested in contacts with the masses for any purpose, try their best to catch the attention of the throngs. The important fairs and festivals of Himachal are Minjar (Chamba),

Sui (Chamba proper), Lavi (Rampur Bushahar), Brahmaur-jatra (Brahmaur village), Renuka (Nahan), Shivratri (Mandi and Kulu), Dussehra (Kulu), Sippi (Koti and Shivpur near Mashobra), Seri (Arki, Kuniha and Mashobra), Bawan Dwadshi (Nahan), etc.

Besides these fairs and festivals, men and women meet one another on formal functions like the Republic Day, Independence Day, Himachal Day celebrations ; in schools and colleges ; on playgrounds and tournaments ; youth-festivals and exhibitions, and dramatic clubs and associations. Sirmur district alone has about forty-four dramatic clubs, thirty-eight sports clubs and thirty-four farmers clubs. However, Himachal lacks the modern society clubs—the organized community centres. These are very few, and are situated mostly at district headquarters such as Chamba, Kulu, Dharamsala, Mandi, Bilaspur, Simla, etc.

The people in the rural areas in particular, also have get-togethers at wrestling matches (Chhinj). Wrestling matches are arranged in the summer season, and at certain places a local holiday is declared on the occasion of the Chhinj. Bull-fights are also popular with the villagers in some parts of Himachal. Communal dances are a more favourite pastime with the village-folk, and compared to small townships, the population of rural areas, irrespective of their caste and communities, take greater part in these performances. Rural-women also come into contact with one another at springs, streams and in jungles where they go almost daily to fetch water and to bring grass or fuel. Thus, there is a striking similarity of views and reactions, and a remarkable community feeling and identity of interests among the rural folk.

Material Arts

Himachal Pradesh is also known for its material arts and crafts. The hill people produce not only exquisite shawls, the embroidered leather footwear and rumals but also carry on many other crafts. They have a well-developed aesthetic sense, which is rooted in the traditions of the land. Delicate carvings on wooden and stone pillars, the engravings on metals, the rustic-shaped wooden utensils, the artistic designs on woollen carpets, etc., do not simply represent the princely tastes, but also clearly bear an imprint of the traditions of the people. Thus during severe long winters, the hill people, in their indoor confinement, besides supplementing their incomes, satisfy their aesthetic instincts.

The most important material craft of Himachal Pradesh seems to be woollen manufactures. Raw wool being locally available, the people of the Pradesh not only manufacture woollen cloth for their own use but also produce a good quantity for the market. Exquisite woven shawls, carpets in beautiful patterns, warm tweed and blankets in their attractive colours and designs are much valued even in sophisticated society. Pashmina, the first-grade wool derived from the domesticated animal known as Pashmina goat has a special marketable value. Embroidery, which is also a well-developed art with the people adds to the beauty and lustre of the woollen, silk and cotton cloths. Himachal Pradesh embroidery can be divided into two major categories : rumal embroidery and leather embroidery. By rumal we do not mean handkerchief as the word literally conveys. In fact, rumal also known as 'Kashida' is much bigger in length, ranging from 2 to 6 feet. 'It is presented during Chamba and Sunni weddings and forms, an important part of brides' trousseau.' While the Chamba embroidery is same on both sides, Sunni embroidery is only one-sided and chiefly consists of geometrical patterns. The art of leather embroidery seems to have originated and developed with the peasant class, who contribute the best specimens. Both the ladies and gents get the upper surface of their footwear embroidered with Tilla, and silk. The leather embroidery was done even with hair of horse, but now this type has become extinct. Besides footwear, boxes and cigar cases of leather are also made in some parts of Himachal.

Basket-making is another important craft with the people. Baskets are made of bamboos, and are fashioned more or less on the model of kilta. These baskets are very helpful in burden-bearing.

Metalware and ornament-making are also an important part-time or full-time occupations with the hill people. They do solid and hollow casting, prepare engraved metalware, ornaments and traditional musical instruments. The gold and silver ornaments mostly in use in Himachal are murki (ear-ring), balu (nose-ring) *Chander shi* hat (necklace), long (nose ornament), anguthi (ring), nath, chak (hair-binder), lurka (ear-ornament) Kangan or bangions, etc. It may be pointed out that jewellery is the pride of hill women.

Blacksmithy is a popular craft of the Spiti region. The handicraftsmen of this area prepare steel bits, buckles and stirrups being

especially worthy of note, as are the straight fluted steel pipes, occasionally ornamented with gold, engraved steel cases for pens, and the brass and copper ink-pots. Chuckmuks or trike slights are also made in Spiti but a better variety of these comes from *Rampur Bushahar*.

Besides, in Himachal Pradesh, there are silver-smiths, carpenters, masons, potters, rope-makers, dyers, etc., who are well-versed in their own crafts and add to the material well-being of the Pradesh.

CHAPTER THREE

PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY

Mian Goberdhan Singh

The history and traditions of Himachal Pradesh go back to the earliest dawn of human civilization. There is little doubt that two million years ago at least one form of man lived on the Himachal foothills, the area traversed by the Banganga-Beas valleys of Kangra, the Sirsa-Sutlej valleys of Nalagarh-Bilaspur and the Markanda valley of Sirmur. These regions are essentially Siwalik in their geology. Human existence here is testified to by the presence of large stone tools like pebbles, choppers, hand-axes and flakes which are found embodied in the fan-shaped boulders and gravels in the Siwalik foothills at Guler, Dehra, Dhaliara and Kangra in the Beas valley, Bilaspur and Nalagarh in the Sirsa-Sutlej valley and the Suketi area of the Markanda valley of Sirmur. The rock commonly used for these implements was quartzite. The most interesting tool is a bifacially worked scraper on thin oval flake obtained from the quartzite pebble. These artifacts generally show advanced Acheulian characters. The developed form of the bifacial scraper indicates the existence of an early middle palaeolithic culture in the area. On the basis of typological comparisons with similar tools found in the Indian peninsular region the tools from the Markanda and Sirsa-Sutlej valleys, etc., seem to be at least 40,000 years old.

The readily available river water, natural vegetation and animal life created a suitable habitat for early human settlements in these regions. The early man preferred to camp on the terrace which was the most convenient flat surface. The raw material in the form of river pebbles was also at hand to design the tools required for his hunting pursuits. In the earlier stage he was a hunter and fruit-gatherer. Since no metal was then known, he utilized stones for making his artifacts. He could not have hunted the larger games by stone tools alone. For these he had devised the method of driving the animals towards steep slopes or in marshy areas so that the animals would either jump from the precipice and get killed or be trapped in the bogs. For cutting the hunted animals, extracting the flesh and removing the skin, the

early man employed stone tools such as choppers and scrapers which have edges suitable for such functions. These tools indicate the earlier stage of human culture in Himachal valleys.

The prehistory of Himachal Pradesh is the history of migrations of peoples from the Indian plains and from Central Asia which has been a womb of nations. The Indus civilization is generally believed to have flourished between 2250 and 1750 B. C. This civilization covered an enormous area from the Arabian Sea to the Gangetic valley in the east. In the north and the east it covered whole of Panjab as far as the Himalayan foothills, and in the south Rajasthan and Gujarat. In prehistoric times, outside the Indus valley, the Indo-Gangetic plain was inhabited by Proto-Australoid or, say, Munda-speaking Kolorian people. When the people of the Indus valley spread through the Gangetic plains, they pushed forward the Kolorian people. The latter moved to the forests and valleys where they could live peacefully and preserve their way of life. Thus they fled northward to the Himachal valleys.

In the Vedas they were called Dasas, Dasyus, Nishadas, etc. In the post-Vedic literature they were mentioned as Kinnaras, Nagas and Yakshas. Who inhabited this region before the coming of these races from the Indian plains in the south is not known. But the Kols, also known as Mundas, were perhaps the earliest and original migrants to the Himachal hills. Possibly the Kolis, Hali Doms and Chanals of the western Himalayas, and Chumangs and Damangs of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti are the remnants of this very ancient race. At the time of Rig Vedic period they were the masters of the hills. According to the *Rig Veda* their powerful king was Shambara, who had ninety-nine strong forts in the hills between the Beas and Jamuna rivers.

The second migrants were the Mongolian featured people called Bhotas and Kiratas in Indian literature. In prehistoric times they occupied the sub-Himalayan region and at present they are found in the highest regions of Himachal Pradesh. Then in the third millennium B. C. a third and probably the most important race that has left its impact on the history and culture of the Himalayas entered in the racial arena of Himachal Pradesh. It is generally accepted that the prehistoric times the Aryans left their Central Asian home in search of new land and pastures for their animals. When they moved from Central Asia, they divided themselves into three branches and each branch moved in a

different direction. One branch marched towards the west and wandered as far as western Europe upto Spain. The other branch moved to the south-east. This branch crossed the Pamir, moved to Kashgir and then entered Kashmir. From there it moved forward slowly into the middle belt of the Himalayas subjugating and subduing the aboriginals and establishing its colonies in the hills and valleys of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal. This branch of the Aryans came to be known as the Khasas, who are considered to be Kshatriyas. They preceded the Vedic Aryans in coming to India. They engulfed the whole of the cis-Himalayas from Kashmir to Nepal and turned the Kinnaur-Kirat and Nagaland into Khasa land. They spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans and to have become Mlechchhas or barbarians because of their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic people of India. These Khasas were a war-like tribe and were well-known to ancient and classical writers. They assimilated the aboriginal tribes and were in turn influenced by them in shaping their social structure. When they settled permanently they organized themselves into families and villages. Each unit elected an individual who was called 'Mavi' or 'Mavana', meaning a strongman. He used to receive a tribute from his subjects. These Mavanas were constantly fighting with and plundering each other. The stronger Mavana subdued the weaker one and annexed his circle into his own. In this way the whole region was divided into small units which were called Mavanas. With the passage of time these Mavanas developed into tribal republics which were called Janapadas in Sanskrit literature.

Now we turn to the third branch of the Aryans which is known as the Indo-Aryans. When the people of this third branch left their Central Asian home, they moved southward and came to Iran. Some of them settled there and developed a specific Indo-Iranian culture and religion. The other adventurous band of Aryans turned to the east and after crossing the Hindukush through the passes came as far as the Indus valley which they called Sapta-Sindhu or the land of seven rivers. The date of the coming of the Aryans in this region is placed at about 2000 B. C. When they came to the valley they came into contact with the more civilised people who used to live in fortified cities. They overran them and settled there. Then they moved generally in a

north-easterly direction, crossed Panjab and moved up to the foothills of the Himalayas from where they turned to the Sarswati, Jamuna and Ganga valleys. Their movement and settlement were a long and slow process. The dark-skinned dwellers of the soil, whom the Aryans called Dasyus, offered a strong resistance to the invaders. One of the powerful Dasyu kings was Shambara, about whom reference has already been made. The *Rig Veda* mentions that Shambara was the greatest enemy of the Aryans. After fighting for 40 years the Aryans defeated him. After his defeat some of the Dasyu tribes retreated towards the north and maintained a precarious existence in the hills under the supremacy of the Khasas. The Aryans spread through the plains and seldom tried to penetrate the hills. They lived in the plains of the Sapta-Sindhavah or seven rivers, the northern limit of their extension touching the Siwalik foothills.

In the Vedas frequent mention has been made of the Himalayas and some of its peaks and the rivers that issue from it, but the *Rig Veda* knows nothing of the Vindhya and other mountain ranges of India. In the later ages some Vedic saints and sages with their disciples came to the low Himachal valleys as peaceful settlers and established their hermitages in several places. Among them the Renuka lake in Sirmur district is connected with Jamdagni, the Vashishtha Kund in Mani Karan of the Kulu valley with Vashishtha Rishi, Nirmand with Parshu Ram, the Beas cave in Bilaspur with sage Vyas, etc. In the post-Vedic period the five Pandava brothers spent most of their exile in these hills and some of the places like Hatkoti in the Jubbal area and Hidimba goddess in the Kulu valley are connected with them.

CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY HISTORY UP TO HARSHA

Mian Goberdhan Singh

According to the *Mahabharata* (1000 B. C.) the Himalayan region now forming Himachal Pradesh was divided into a number of small tribal republics. This is also verified by Panini (c. 5th century B. C.). These tribal republics were called Janapadas. The Janapadas were both a state and a cultural unit. Their cultural integrity was reflected and preserved in their manners, customs and, above all, the dialect of their people. The Janpadas were originally named after the people settled in them. Later they became territorial units. Panini testifies to this process by stating that the names of the Janapadas did not take after their original settlers, but were then current as independent proper names for territorial units.

Katyayana mentions two types of Janapadas. One was monarchical or *ekaraja* and the other republican or *sangha*. The tribal republics of Himachal Pradesh were *Sangha Janapadas*. They were also called *Ayudhajivi Sanghas*, meaning those who lived by the profession of arms.

The Janapadas mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and also known to Panini are the Audumbaras, the Trigartas, the Kulutas and the Kulindas.

The Audumbaras

A story in the *Mahabharata* mentions that Audumbara is the name of the descendant of the sage Vishvamitra who is the founder of the gotra of the Kaushika group. He was probably their national hero.

The Audumbaras, also known as the Udumbaras or Odumbaras, were one of the most prominent tribes of ancient Himachal Pradesh, whose coins have been mostly found in the Pathankot and the Jawalamukhi regions of Kangra district. Besides these, stray coins of theirs have also been recovered from the Hoshiarpur district. This shows that the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the western part of the modern Kangra district, i.e., the whole of the region of Gurdaspur district and the Hoshiarpur district (the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the

wider region between the Sutlej and the Ravi). The Audumbaras have been referred to in association with the people of Jalandhara in Panini's *Ganapatha*. It is generally believed that Panini lived in the 5th century B. C. Therefore the tribe had its existence as early as the 5th century B. C.

The early story of the Audumbaras is extremely obscure. Przyluski, however, conjectures that they had to bear the burnt of the Aryan aggression, as a result of which event there was a division among the tribe. According to him, the *Mahabharata* refers to the Audumbaras of Panjab while the *Markandeya Purana* and the *Brihatsamhita* intended to imply the Southern Audumbaras. A Buddhist scholar named Chandragomin (5th century A. D.) refers to the Audumbaras in his work *Vritti* as a section of the Shalvas. Mention of the Shalvas has been made in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, a work of the 8th century B. C. Thus the existence of the Shalvas is established in the 8th century B. C. They were very powerful. Probably there existed many constituent sections of the Shalvas. The Audumbaras were one among them and they all existed at the same time.

The Audumbaras were advantageously situated on the great route of commerce which ran from Takshashila to the Gangetic valley. It was a route from Magadha to Kashmir. Besides, their territory stood on the opening of the several Himalayan valleys serving as natural intermediaries between the mountains and the plains. It is to be noted that Pathankot, where a number of coins of the tribe have been found, being the junction of the commercial routes from Chamba, Nurpur and Kangra, was a great commercial centre. The tribe was republican and had an elective king.

The legends in Brahmi and Kharoshthi inscribed on the coins of the Audumbaras throw sufficient light on their form of government.

1. Mahadeva Rana Sivadasasa Odumanisa
2. -do- Rudradasasa -do-
3. -do- Dharaghosasa -do-
4. Bhagavati Mahadevas Raja Rana Odumanisa

The Audumbara coins have an additional word 'Mahadevasasna' alongwith the name of the Raja or Rana and the tribe. It has been taken to be the regal title of the Audumbara leaders. It is possible that the word 'Mahadeva' was used for god Shiva. This

legend is supported by the figure of a trident, a symbol of Shiva on the coins. This shows that the issuers were worshippers of Shiva.

After some time the Audumbaras favoured a monarchical form of government. It is possible that the popularly believed Mitra might have been responsible for the downfall of the republican form of government of the Audumbaras. On careful examination of the coins of the two tribes we find that the lineage of the second group namely Rudravarma, Mahimitra, Aryamitra, Bhanumitra, and Mahabhutimitra followed the former chronologically.

The Audumbaras issued copper and silver coins. They were issued in the name of the community and the king. These coins date from the first century B. C. and have legends in both Brahmi and Kharoshthi. On the coins of Sivadas, Rudradas, Dharaghosha and Mahadeva we find the name of tribe associated with that of the king. There are some Audumbara coins, especially of the Mitras, which omit the name of the tribe. This omission of the tribal names in the series in question may be due to the change in the constitution of the Audumbaras with the increase of the authority of the rulers of the tribe who gave their own name only in the coin legends. The numismatic evidence shows that the Audumbaras asserted their independence and formed a separate state in about the 2nd century B. C. The material prosperity of these people is testified to by the abundance of coins which bear their names. The country of the Audumbaras was, as stated earlier, situated on the commercial routes from the Gangetic plains to Central Asia. The local industries also contributed a major source of wealth. Sheep rearing was one of the occupations of the people. The sheep of that locality were famous for yielding very fine fleece. The Audumbaras may have grown prosperous through the sale of woollen goods manufactured by them. The economic affluence of the Audumbaras is also attested to by Buddhist texts like the *Vinaya*. The silver coins of the tribes, though not many in number, also show that they were one of those few ancient Indian tribes issuing silver coins whose financial position may be presumed to have been sound.

The coins of the Audumbaras that bear the device of a structure along with a trident and a battle-axe help us to know about the religion of the people. The structure signifies a Shaivite temple. The trident and the battle-axe, the former being a special weapon of Shiva, and the names of the issuers of the coins (such as Sivadas and Rudradasa) are clearly indicative of the Shaiva affiliation of

the Audumbaras. The coins that bear the figure of a bull also point to the same conclusion, for a bull probably stands for Nandi, the Vahana of Shiva.✓

Trigarta

The name Trigarta is found in the *Mahabharata* and in the Puranas, as well as in Panini's work. It is also synonymous with Jalandhara. Hem Chandra says :

“Jalandharas Trigartas Syah”

(“Jalandhara, that is, Trigarta”)

This is a common name still in use which has been handed down from the time of the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas. It is, therefore, assumed that Jalandhara was the name of the country on the plains, and Trigarta of that in the hills ; and these names may have been used interchangeably for the whole region.

Trigarta is repeatedly mentioned in Sanskrit literature, for example in the *Mahabharata* where we read of Susharman, the founder of Trigarta, who was the ally of the Kauravas and attached Virata, the king of the Matsyas with whom the Pandavas had sought refuge. Apparently, the Trigartas and the Matsyas were neighbours. According to the *Mahabharata*, Susharman, when about to attack Virata, marched in a south-easterly direction.✓ The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the great war of Mahabharata they lost their lands in Multan, and retired, under Susharman, to the Jalandhara region, where they settled and built the fort of Nagarkot. In the *Mahabharata* and the *Brihatsamhita* Trigarta is mentioned with other tribes of Panjab. They are closely connected with the Yaudheyas. The *Vishnu Purana* couples the Audumbaras and the Kulutas. Thus the Trigarta country corresponds to the modern Kangra, the land between the Ravi and the Sutlej. Trigarta denotes the region drained by three rivers, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej.

The first historical notice of Trigarta is to be found in the 5th century B.C. in the writings Sanskrit writer Panini. It is mentioned by Panini as Ayudhajivi Sangha, and a confederation of six states known as Trigarta-Shashthas. The Trigartas represented a second cluster of mountainous Sanghas being counted amongst *Parvatarainah* along with the Niharas, Darvas, Karna-Pravarnas, etc., who formed the north-western group. The region was split up into a number of states. The *Kashika* mentions the six members of this confederacy as follows:

1. Kaudoparatha,
2. Dandaki,
3. Kraushtaki,
4. Jalamani,
5. Brahmagupta and
6. Janaki.

They are not identified. Brahma may be Brahmaur of Chamba. The Janakas are mentioned as helpmates of Susharman of Trigarta. In his Sutrās, Panini has described them as Ayudhajivi Sanghas, meaning a martial republican tribe. Mostly they were Kshatriyas.

The existence of Trigarta as an independent republic in the second century B.C. is indicated by a coin bearing the legend 'Trakata-janapadasa' in Brahmi character and the traces of the same inscription in Kharoshthi on the obverse are visible, and the coin is square in shape.

Kuluta. The original name of Kuluta occurs in the *Ramayana* and the *Vishnu Purana*. It is also mentioned in the *Mahabharata* under that name in a list of the countries lying in the north of India. The *Markandeya Purana* and the *Brihatsamhita* also notice it among the tracts situated in northern India. The Kulutas are mentioned along with many other tribes like the Audumbaras, the Kashmiras, the Dardas, the Dravabhisaras, the Kulindas and the Tanganas. They were close to the Audumbaras. The Kulindas are mentioned as their south-eastern neighbours. Thus the territory of the Kulutas may be located in the upper Beas valley now known as the Kulu valley as it is generally mentioned that the territories of the two peoples, that is the Kulutas and the Audumbaras, were not widely separated. The ancient capital of the Kulutas was Nagar on the Beas, a name included in the *Katreyadi Gana* (IV.2.95) of Panini.

The Kulutas as a separate political entity were known to the author of the play *Mudrarakshasa*, who tells us that Chandragupta Maurya's (c. 324 B.C.) Himalayan alliance gave him an army recruited from a variety of people. Among those are mentioned the following: the Sakas, the Yavanas (probably Greeks) the Kiratas, the Kambojas, the Parasikas, and Bahlika. Chandragupta Maurya was opposed by a collection of five kings, viz. Chitravarma of Kuluta, Samhanada of Malaya, Pushkaraksha of Kashmira, the Samdhava prince, Sindhushena and Meghakhya, the king of the Parasikas, who joined with a large force of cavalry. The army of Malayaketu also included Khasa recruits from the frontier

highlands. But these references do not help in explaining the early history of these people.

The oldest historical record in this connection is the legend on a coin found in the Kulu valley. The unique copper coin of the Kulutas bears the legend 'Virayasasya rajna Kulutasya' (of the Kuluta king Virayasa). The practically Sanskrit form of the inscription and the survival of the Prakrit rana in Kharoshthi on the reverse render a date about A. D. 100 very probable. They issued copper coins because copper was available in the country at that time.

The Kulindas (or Kunindas). The ancient Kulindas have a place in the list of Puranic peoples. In the *Mahabharata*, the *Vishnu Purana*, the *Vayu Purana* and the *Markandeya Purana*, the Kunindas have been called by the name of Kulindas. The *Mahabharata* mentions that the Kulinda people were conquered by Arjuna. From the description therein it is concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Trigartas. The *Vishnu Purana* not only mentions the Kulindas but also Kulindo-palyakas or 'Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills'. Panini's Kuluna (*Gana-Patha*, IV. 2.133 IV. 3.93) seems to be the same as Kulinda and later Kuninda. The Kulindas (Greek Kulindrini) were also mentioned by Ptolemy (c. 140 A. D.) in his "Geographike" as an extensive country including the region of the lofty mountains wherein the Beas, the Sutlej, the Jamuna and the Ganga had their sources. Varahamihira (c. 500 A.D.) locates them with the Kulutas and Sairindhas or the people of Kulu and Sirhind. From the above discussion it is evident that the Kulindas were a hill people who lived in the area lying between the rivers Beas-Sutlej and the Jamuna (Simla, and Sirmur hills) and between Ambala and Saharanpur in the plains. This is also proved by the fact that a large number of the coins of the Kulindas was found in the country between Ambala and Saharanpur on the plains and in the Siwalik hills.

From the extension of the country of the Kulindas we can identify them with the Kanets or Kunets of our own times who form the bulk of the population of Kulu, the Simla hills and the Sirmur hills. They have been identified with the Kulindas or Kunindas of early history. Under both of these forms their names are still preserved in the districts of Kulu on the Beas, Kanaur on the Sutlej, and Sirmur on the Giri river. The names Mavi or Mavna

given to the Kunets and the Khasas designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they acknowledge to have been their ancestors. Their tradition says that both the Kanets and the Khasas were the masters of the hills before the great Aryan immigration.

The ethnographic distribution and the numismatic finds of 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. of the Kulindas in the Siwalik hills right from Kangra to Kumaon, including Himachal Pradesh and the adjoining area of the plains between Ambala and Saharanpur, shows that at that time the Kulindas were independent. During the Saka invasion when the Greeks were pushed out of Mathura, the Kulindas extended their power down into the plains with which they were very much familiar from earlier times. This is justified in view of the fact that like the hill people of the present day they used the plains as grazing ground for their cattle during the winter months. They issued silver coins. The coins furnish only one name Amoghabhuti who was ruling during the later half of the first century B. C. When the Sakas advanced into the Panjab plains, the Kulindas lost their independence. Soon after it the Kulinda coinage ceased. The reappearance of their coinage in the 3rd century A. D. shows that they reasserted their independence on the decline of the Kushana empire. It is likely that the Kulindas joined hands with the Yaudheyas and that the two people jointly expelled the Kushanas from the eastern Panjab. They probably disappeared from the political map of northern India some time before A. D. 350, for they are not mentioned in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, nor is there any other evidence of the continuation of their rule.

The Kulindas had a republican form of administration. They had a central assembly. The members of the central assembly had the title of kings. Kautilya has referred to a class of such republics as 'Rajasabdopajivinah'.

From the coin-legends of the Kulindas also we get confirmation of the fact that they had a republican system. The legend 'Rajnah Kunindasya Amoghbhutisya Maharajasya' corroborates the testimony from literature that all the members of the tribal assembly were called 'Rajas' and the president or the chief of the house was called 'Maharaja'. The reverse of these coins bears the word 'Maharaja' in the exergue, independently. This denotes the importance of the high office. It is a point worth considering that

the words 'Raja' and 'Maharaja' cannot be used for one man 'Amoghabhuti' alone as some of the historians assume. The coins bearing the name of Amoghabhuti have been issued during a period extending over centuries. K. P. Jayaswal suggests that it was probably an official title, meaning 'of unfailing prosperity'.

'Rajasabdopajivin Sangha' implies a republic which recognised the title of Rajan. A constitution of this sort appears to have prevailed among the Kunindas. Their coins were struck in the name of the 'King' and the political 'Community'. This appears to be an official title and not a personal name of any king or chief.

The Kuninda coinage bears legends in Prakrit. On the silver coins the Prakrit script is used in the obverse and the Kharoshthi on the reverse. The copper coins mostly have legends in Brahmi only. As the copper coinage was mainly intended for local circulation, the exclusive use of the Brahmi script on it shows that the prevalent script in the Kuninda territory was Brahmi. The silver coins, which were likely to travel beyond the home territories were inscribed with Kharoshthi also, as the latter script was current in the neighbouring region of north-western Panjab. Allen has remarked that that silver coins have been modelled after the hemidrachams of the later Greek kings. Economically the silver coins of the Kunindas represent an attempt of an Indian ruler to issue a native silver coinage which would compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver coinage.

The coins of the Kunindas fall into two groups, one about the end of the first century B. C. and the other about three centuries later. The former bears the name of Amoghabhuti, with a legend which reads 'Rajnah Kunindasya Amoghabhutisya Maharajasya'. These earliest coins are distinguished by Buddhist symbols only in addition to the name of Kuninda.

Coins were issued by a Kuninda republic again at the end of the 2nd century A. D. or the beginning of the third. These are large pieces resembling the Kushana copper coins. The obverse bears a figure of Shiva holding a trident and the legend : 'Bhagavata-Chatresvara-Mahatman'. This legend which has been considered to be an Indian insignia of sovereignty can also imply that the tribal state of the Kunindas at one time was dedicated to Lord Shiva in the 2nd century A. D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of its sovereign ruler. The Kunindas were

contemporaries of the Audumbaras, the Trigartas and the Kulutas in the hills, and the Yaudheyas, the Malavas and the Arjunayanas in the plains. And therefore their social and economic conditions must have been more or less similar.

The Yaudheyas had made an alliance against the Kushanas and they succeeded in achieving their aim. This shows that the Kunindas were a martial race and they were materially strong, as the Yaudheyas could not have preferred to ally with them for warlike purposes had they not been so.

So far as the economic situation of the tribe is concerned we can infer from their silver coinage that they were fairly prosperous.

These republican states which flourished up to the time of the Guptas and of whom we know from Panini, the Puranas, Buddhist literature, Kautilya, Greek accounts and coins, disappeared in the 5th century A. D., and for this perhaps the Imperial Guptas were mainly responsible.

In the 4th century A. D. Samudragupta overpowered all these Ganas and Sanghas and annexed them to his own empire. These Sanghas thus vanished for ever.

Before 500 B. C. and the beginning of the Christian era, the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians and the nomadic Kushanas from Central Asia invaded northern India. In 327 B. C., the Macedonians and allied peoples under the leadership of Alexander crossed Afghanistan and advanced as far as Beas river. In Panjab he met with resistance by the republican people who were described by Panini as 'Ayudhajivi Sanghas', 'Warrior-communities'. This is a tradition which is confirmed by Plutarch's statement that when Alexander was in Panjab, Chandragupta met him. At that time he was living in that locality with Chanakya also known as Kautilya.

Chandragupta was the contender for the Magadha throne. With the help of Chanakya he wanted to oust his step brothers who had not only expelled him, but also insulted Chanakya. When the Macedonians met a stiff resistance they refused to go further and in 326 B. C. Alexander turned back. An internal rising took place almost immediately after his departure from India. Chandragupta and Chanakya evidently took full advantage of this situation. They set out collecting recruits from different places. Kautilya mentions the name of the Mlechha tribes like the Kirata highlanders. According to tradition he began by strengthening his

position by an alliance with the Himalayan chief Parvataka, as stated in both the Sanskrit and Jaina texts, *Mudra-rakshasa* and *Parishishtaparvan*. The Jain text also says that Chanakya went to Himavakuta and entered into an alliance with Parvataka, the king of that region. A Buddhist account also mentions a Parvataka as a close associate of Chanakya. The *Mudrarakshasa* further informs us that his Himalaya alliance gave Chandragupta an army of recruits from a variety of people. Among these are mentioned the following : the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Kiratas, the Kambojas, the Parasikas and the Vahlikas. According to the *Mahabharata* the Vahlikas comprised the Prasthalas, the Madras, the Gandharas, the Khasas, the Vasatis, the Sindhus and the Sauviras. If not others, the Kiratas and the Khasas were definitely from the Himachal hills who joined Chandragupta's army and the Himalayan king Parvatak must be the Trigarta chief, the major portion of whose country was spread into the hills and whose capital was at Jalandhara. As at the time of the recruitment both Chanakya and Chandragupta were in Panjab and the recruitment was also made in Panjab and Vahlika, the Paravataka, as mentioned above, must be the chief of the Trigarta-Jalandhara confederation with whom Chanakya had close relation and whose help he sought. Moreover, Panini has described the people of Trigarta as Ayudhajivi, that is those who live by fighting, and Chandragupta would have wanted recruits of that type. This shows that when they were in Panjab they would have recruited the soldiers from Panjab and the adjoining hill region at Trigarta and not from Kashmir and Nepal which were very far away from Panjab. Moreover, Alexander made the king of Abhisara rule in Kashmir with the state of Arsaces (Hazara) added to his kingdom. Therefore, the Parvataka of the *Mudrarakshasa*, Buddhist and Jaina texts must be between the Ravi and Jamuna rivers. With the help of Chanakya, Chandragupta effected a revolution at Pataliputra and exterminated the Nanda family, and ascended the throne in 324 B. C. His next exploit was to expel the Macedonian garrison and to put an end to the Greek rule in Panjab.

Chandragupta followed up his success by subduing all the states of northern India. In the west he extended his boundaries as far as Afghanistan. Towards the north he probably tried to penetrate into the inner hills. The *Mudrarakshasa* mentions that Chandragupta was opposed by a coalition of five kings among whom the name of Chitravarma of Kuluta is mentioned.

Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, extended his boundaries to the Himalayan region. His son Kunala became the governor of Kashmir and Ladakh. Ashoka was a staunch Buddhist. It is said that at the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council, Buddhist monks were selected and sent as missionaries to various regions. Among these Majjhantika and Ashoka's son Kunala went to Kashmir and Gandhara, Ashoka and his daughter Charumati to Nepal and Majjhima to the Himalaya region. The mission to the Himalayan region was a large one and consisted of a team of four monks, Kassapagotta, Dhundibhissara, Sahadeva and Mulakadeva. Some of the relic caskets from Sanchi contain a few of these names. The *Mahavansha* mentions that Majjhima along with other four monks preached Buddhism in five countries of the Himalayas. These five countries must be between Kashmir and Nepal as separate missions were sent to these places. Therefore these five countries must be the mountainous country between Kashmir and Nepal, now forming Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal and Kumaon. As early as 242 B. C. Buddhism is said to have been injected into the Himachal hills through these Buddhist missionaries and their disciples. Ashoka also built many stupas in the Himalayan region. One of them was in the Kulu valley about which the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang (629-45) has mentioned that in the middle of the country (Kuluta) is a stupa built by Ashokaraja. 'Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This stupa is a memorial of the traces of his presence.' Ashoka also erected many rock edicts. One of the major rock inscriptions is of Kalsi, an important settlement on a trade route at that time, which is at the confluence of the Tons and the Jamuna in the Jaunsar-Bawar region which was once a part of the Sirmur state.

Thus as far back as in the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., the people of the hills forming Himachal Pradesh took great interest and an active part in the Indian political, social, cultural and religious life. They had trade contacts with the people of the plains. They exported herbs and skins of the varieties called Bisi and Mahabisi. They accepted the overlordship of Ashoka, but otherwise they were free to look after their own affairs.

After the fall of the Mauryas, the Shungas (187-75 B. C.) came to power. They could not keep these tribal republics under their sway. They latter became free and issued their own coins from the second century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D.

The Kushanas (about A. D. 20 – A. D. 225), who followed the Shungas, established an extensive empire within and beyond India, extending from Central Asia to Mathura and Banaras in the east. The finds of 382 copper coins of Wema Kadphises with forty copper coins of Kanishka on the Kalka-Kasauli road and of two coins of Wema Kadphises, one of Kanishka and one of Vasudeva at Kanhira in the Kangra district show that this region also formed part of their vast empire. Their outstanding ruler was Kanishka, who was also an ardent Buddhist. During his reign the fourth Buddhist Council was held to discuss the matter pertaining to Buddhist theology and doctrine. Some authors aver that the council met in the Kundalavana Vihara in Kashmir, while others locate it in the Kuvana monastery at Jalandhara, which was the capital of Trigartadesa. Taranath observes that the balance of authority favours the latter view. The Mongolian traditions affirm that the Council met at Jalandhara which was in Kashmir. In some ancient books Kanishka is called the king of Jalandhara.

The Kushanas remained very powerful so long as Kanishka and Huvishka were leading them and so the tribal republics of Audumbara, Trigarta, Kuluta and Kuninda appear to have submitted to them and did not get any opportunity to raise their heads for a long time. The Kushana emperors allowed them to rule their territories and probably also appointed them as their provincial viceroys. It also seems that Kushana kings were not against the circulation of viceregal money and local coinage as we actually have the coins of the Kushanas and the republican chiefs contemporaneously from the 2nd century B. C. to the second century A. D. With the decline of the Kushana power in the area about the end of second and the beginning of the third century A. D., these tribal republics grew powerful. In the second century A. D., the Kunindas, the Yaudheyas and the Arjunayanas (of Panjab) organised a combination and jointly they succeeded in ousting the Kushanas completely beyond the Sutlej. After this they issued their new series of coins asserting their independence up to the middle of the 2nd or in the 3rd century A. D. About the middle of the fourth century, however, all these tribal republics were gradually absorbed into the growing empire of the Guptas.

The credit for delivering the first blow to the Kushana empire goes to an alliance of the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas and the

Arjunayanas. About 145 A. D. they declared themselves independent in the Panjab and the Himachal hills. But in the middle of the 4th century A. D. the new monarchical power of the Guptas rose from Magadha with its capital at Pataliputra. The Gupta empire was founded by Chandra Gupta (A. D. 319-320). His son, Samudra Gupta, was a great conqueror whose achievements have been engraved by his minister of war, Harishsena, on the Ashokan pillar at Allahabad. The countries annexed by Samudra Gupta are especially mentioned in the inscription. Besides this there is a list of those frontier states which acknowledged the supremacy of Samudra Gupta without a war. Some of the republican tribes of Panjab have also been mentioned. They were Kartripura and the other neighbouring Siwalik hill states, the Arjunayanas, the Yaudheyas and the Madrakas.

Samudra Gupta adopted quite a different policy towards the republican tribes in the Panjab region. He did not march in person against them but exercised his power against them through various means. They were offered the choice of two alternatives, namely destruction of their countries like the northern kingdoms in case of insubordination and indifference, or assurance of peace and prosperity and maintenance of internal autonomy by acceptance of the Gupta overlordship. The Gupta ruler did not actually have to carry arms to these frontier states. They voluntarily recognised his supremacy.

The rulers who submitted were not disturbed in their internal administration. They continued to enjoy internal autonomy but they had to acknowledge the supremacy of Samudra Gupta and pay tribute to him as feudatories. They also had to offer him customary presents. They acted as buffer states between his empire and the other mighty empires situated on their borders. All the lands of the feudal chiefs were considered as parts of the Gupta empire, but their chiefs enjoyed practically all the privileges of independent rulers.

All these states most probably developed relations with the Imperial Guptas for the development and progress of their states in the social, economic and political fields. Samudra Gupta perhaps would not have thought of attacking these hill regions where there were few chances of gaining anything and many chances of suffering heavy losses.

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Rama Gupta whose wife was called Dhruva Devi. In the course of a war with a Saka

king he was closely besieged and placed in such a difficult position that in order to save his people he agreed to surrender his queen to the Saka king. His younger brother, Chandra Gupta, protested against this act of dishonour, and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the disguise of queen Dhruva Devi in order to kill the hated Saka king. The stratagem succeeded and Chandra Gupta saved the empire and its honour. This story is the plot of the drama of *Devichandraguptam* by Vishakhadatta. The *Harshacharita* also mentions that the Saka king possessed lust for another's wife, and that Chandra Gupta killed him in the guise of a female.

We get a similar version in the *Mujmalu-t-Twarikh*, an Arabic folklore translated in Persian by Abdul Husain Ali in A. D. 1226. Ram Gupta has been named in this book as Rawal and Chandra-Gupta as Barkamaris. The story is somewhat akin to the one narrated by Vishakhadatta in the *Devichandraguptam*. Some hill chieftain had revolted against Rawal's authority. (Some historians have identified this rebel chief with the hill chief of Kangra. Others place him somewhere in the hilly regions of Siwalik.) This annoyed Ram Gupta who had succeeded to the mighty kingdom of Samudra Gupta. He marched at the head of a grand army to subdue and punish the rebel. Unfortunately, the royal forces could not pierce through the defence of the rebel chief and had no other alternative but to fall back. The losses on the Gupta side were very heavy. This gave an opportunity to the enemy. Encouraged by this turn of the tide in their favour, the rebel forces chased the Gupta army. Accompanied by his officers and family, Ram Gupta shut himself up in a fort in the hills. Strategically a blunder, this provided an easy trap for him. He had to surrender unconditionally. Thereupon, he was asked to surrender the queen and other ladies to the rebel chief—the most humiliating terms of peace. However, Chandra Gupta II, then a prince, rose to the occasion and submitted his plan to the king wherein he volunteered to save the royal camp from the catastrophe. According to this plan the prince was to go to the enemy's camp in the guise of Dhruva Devi. He was to be accompanied by all the youths of the royal camp disguised as maidens. The plan succeeded and the hill chief was annihilated.

Samudra Gupta began the work of conquest. To his son, Chandragupta II, fell the task of completing it and assimilating into the organisation of the empire not only the

tribal states and kingdoms on the border but also the territories ruled by foreign lords like the Sakas and the Kushanas. The Mehrauli iron pillar inscription, wherein a king by the name of Chandra has been described to be engaged in battle with the confederacy of the rulers of the regions of the Bhagirathi and Padma, has been identified with Chandra Gupta II. Some writers on the basis of this inscription have tried to prove that the north-western rulers refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Chandra Gupta II, although they had concluded a subordinate alliance with Samudra Gupta. This evidence is confirmed from the fact that Ram Gupta, the predecessor of Chandragupta II, was obliged to march against a ruler in the north-west at the latter's refusal to acknowledge his supremacy. Thus, we can say that the north-western regions were inhabited by insubordinate elements of freedom-loving chieftains and Chandra Gupta II had to deal with those rulers with a strong hand. During the first five to ten years of his reign Chandra Gupta II devoted himself whole-heartedly to the strengthening of his north-western dominion from Jalandhar to Mathura.

After Chandra Gupta's successors Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta, the empire began to weaken. The Gupta emperors, as we have seen before, did not extend their rule over Panjab. The tribal chiefs of the Himalayan region between the Ravi and Jamuna-Ganges agreed to pay tribute and homage to the paramount ruler. During this period, i.e. from the beginning of the 4th century to the end of 6th century A.D. we observe a great change in the political condition of the ancient Himachal states. Some old republics dwindled away and others appeared. After the 4th century we do not hear anything about the Audumbara republic. This name is not found in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. In the foregoing century this republic lost its independent status and its independent-coinage evidently ceased. Though it is difficult to determine the exact cause of this state of affairs, we may venture to suggest that the rise of Menander (1st century B.C.), Milinda of Sanskrit literature, who was the immediate western neighbour of the Audumbaras and whose capital was Shakala (Sialkot), may have been one of the contributory causes for the weakening of this republican state. In the first and second century A.D. the rise of the Kushanas may have been another such factor. We find the name Madra in the Allahabad inscription and not the name of the Audumbaras. Therefore the Audumbaras seem to have merged with other rulers or dwindled in importance as they have left no indepen-

dent coinage in the 3rd and 4th century A.D. which can be attributed to them. The absence of their name in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta also supports the above conclusion. With the weakening of this tribe, it appears that the Madras from the west and the Trigartas from the east must have encroached on their lands.

Another republic whose name is not found in the pillar inscription of Allahabad is Kuninda. With the rise of the Gupta power in the 4th century the Kunindas were split into various small kingdoms like Brahmapura in Ramganga valley, Govisana (which has been identified with a site in the vicinity of Kasipur) and Kartipur in the Katjur valley of Kumaon. The later name is found in the Allahabad inscription. The western neighbours of the Kunindas were the Kulutas and they also seem to have encroached on the upper Bias and Sutlej enclaves. In the upper regions a new power called Bashahar appears to have come into prominence in the early century of the Christian era. In Sirmur and Jaunsar-Bawar region a new kingdom appears to have come into existence. Before A. D. 1815 Jaunsar-Bawar was a part of the Sirmur state. In Lakha Mandal temple there are two 6th-century inscriptions. One of the inscriptions is said to be earlier. According to these inscriptions this kingdom was called Singpur which can be connected with Sirmur. These inscriptions reveal the names of some rajas. The names are Sen Varman, Datt Varman, Pradeep Varman, Ishwar Varman, Jai Varman, Yagya Varman, Achal Varman and Bhaskar Varman. It is possible that this kingdom came into being near about A. D. 250.

We have seen that on palaeographical grounds the coins of the Kulutas belong to the first or second century of the Christian era, perhaps rather to the second than to the first. The name of the chief mentioned on the coin is Virayasa. The name is not found in the Vanshavalī of the Kulu Rajas. Kulu tradition says that the founder of the state was one Behangamani who came to the valley from Prayag. We can say that the second Kulu state was therefore founded in the pre-Gupta period.

The Trigarta-Jalandhara people appear to have resisted jolts of foreign invasions and Gupta subjugation. During the period they must have encroached on the Audumbara territory in the west. Gabdika (Brahmaur) in the north and Sukshetra (Sutlej valley) in the west.

In the middle of the 6th century A.D. a new dynasty established its supremacy over the upper Ravi valley. Meru Varman, the founder, is said to have come to the valley from the upper Ganga valley through the hills and founded the state with its capital at Brahmapura, modern Brahmaur. This event is believed to have taken place about the middle of the 6th century A.D. The original state was of a very small size.

Upto the 3rd or 4th century A.D. these hill states followed a republican system of government. They had a central assembly and an elected head. The Guptas, who made them feel their weight, followed a monarchical system of government. It appears that these hill states fancied to follow in the footsteps of their overlords and with the passage of time the powerful chiefs adopted the monarchical system of government for their states.

During the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. we find that the Audumbaras and the Kunindas totally disappeared from the scene and new dynasties in Kulu, Chamba, Bashahr and Sirmur regions came into existence. The Trigarta confederation also ceased to function.

Towards the middle of the fifth century A.D. another central Asian tribe, the Hunas, followed by the Gujjaras, came down into Panjab, and settled there. Then they went on to the valley of the Jamuna and overcame the reigning Gupta king. Their chief was Toramana. He was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, who was very cruel. The Indian princes united under Baladitya of Magadha and Yasodharman of Malwa, led a great army against him, defeated him at Kahrur, near Multan, about the year A.D. 520 and forced him to retire to Kashmir; where he died in A.D. 540. Some of the fleeing tribesmen ran to the hills and settled there and consequently got absorbed into Hindu society. Those who could not settle, adopted a pastoral way of life. Now they are known as the Gujjaras and wander with their animals between the Siwalik hills and the sub-Himalayan region.

After the collapse of the Gupta empire and before the rise of Harsha, northern India again became a congeries of small states. In the cis-Himalayan region, between the Ravi and the Jamuna a new group of petty chiefs known as Thakurs and Ranas emerged. They claimed themselves to be Kashatriya. The Ranas are evidently identical with the old Rajanakas, the court-aristocracy of the pre-Rajput times. Inscriptions mention them occasionally as early as the 7th century and oftener after the 10th century. The Thakurs

are more difficult to define. The name means 'lord' and originally may have been applied to any petty chieftain whether he had been a successful interloper from the lower classes or an immigrant from outside the Indian plains or from the north. These Ranas and Thakurs exercised authority either as independent rulers or under the suzerainty of a paramount power. The period during which they ruled is spoken of as the Apthakuri or Apthakurai, while the territory of a Rana was called Rahun and of a Thakur, Thakuri or Thakurai. Their states were small in size and their boundaries were liable to constant change as each ruler gained an ascendancy over others or yielded to superior force. Thus, with the exception of Kangra and Kulu this whole region was divided into several Thakurais and Rahuns. In the Chamba area alone, there were more than 100 petty chiefs.

In their relations with one another the Ranas appear in a less favourable light. Each of them regarded his neighbours as his natural enemies, with whom the only possible relationship was one of mortal feud. When not opposing a common foe they were engaged in oppressing and despoiling one another. Numerous incidents of those times have been handed down by local tradition and are treasured in the folklore of the people.

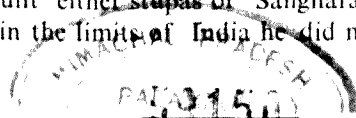
The dissension and strife among the petty chiefs afforded a favourable opportunity to other north Indian adventurous tribes to step in. The rule of the Ranas and Thakurs came to an end sooner in some parts of the hills than in the others. It was followed by the rise of numerous Rajput principalities, which held dominion down to comparatively recent times. They were all founded by Rajput adventurers, who either came direct from the plains, or were descendants of the noble families which had already established themselves in the hills. They reduced the Ranas and Thakurs to the position of tributaries. But their subjugation seems to have been little more than nominal, the petty chiefs simply agreeing to acknowledge the supremacy of the local Raja while they continued as before to rule their own Thakurais, wage wars on one another and generally act as if they were quite independent. Common tradition, as well as the evidence of the genealogies and some of the slab inscriptions, all point to this conclusion. It was not after centuries that the Rajas were able to establish anything like a real superiority over them.

With the rise of Harsha in the early 7th century, the centre of

Indian political activities shifted first from Patliputra to Thaneswar and then to Kanauj. Harsha succeeded in establishing a unified empire in north India. He was a patron of both Buddhism and Brahmanism and welcomed to his court Hiuen-Tsang, perhaps the greatest of the Chinese pilgrims who came to India. He came by the northern route through Tashkand and Samarkand and reached the kingdom of Gandhara in 630 A. D. He remained in India for about 13 years during which he visited almost every province of this vast country. He was left an extremely interesting record of the condition of the country. During his stay in India from A. D. 630-643 he also visited the regions now forming parts of Himachal Pradesh. He visited Jalandhara, the capital city of Jalandhara-Trigarta state in March 635. He remained there as the guest of Raja Utitas for four months before proceeding to Kanauj, and again halted at Jalandhara on his return journey in A. D. 643. Utitas is identified with the Adima of the Vanshavalī.

Hiuen-Tsang has mentioned that 'the kingdom is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. The capital is 12 or 13 li in circuit. The land is favourable for the cultivation of cereals and it produces much rice. The forests are thick and umbrageous, fruits and flowers abundant. The climate is warm and moist, the people brave and impetuous, but their appearance is common and rustic. The houses are rich and well supplied. There are fifty convents or so; about 2000 priests. They have students both of the Great and Little Vehicle. There are three temples of Dewas and about 500 heretics, who all belong to the Pasupatas.'

'A former king of this land showed great partiality for the heretics, but afterwards, having met with an Arhat and heard the law, he believed and understood it. Therefore the king of Mid-India, out of regard for his sincere faith, appointed him sole inspector of the affairs of religion throughout the five Indies. Making light of party distinctions (this or that) with no preference or dislike, he examined into the conduct of the priests, and probed their behaviour with wonderful sagacity. The virtuous and the well-reported of, he revered and openly regarded; the disorderly he punished. Where ever there were traces of the only one (or, ones) he built either stupas or Sangharamas, and there was no place within the limits of India he did not visit and inspect.'



The kingdom is described as about 1000 li or 167 miles in length from east to west and 800 li or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. Cunningham thinks that if these dimensions are even approximately correct, Jalandhara must have included the district of Chamba in the north, and Mandi and Suket in the east, and Satadru in the south-east. If the state of Jalandhara included Chamba then it is curious that the records speak nothing of the dynasty that had been ruling there. Its capital was Brahmaur (Brahmapura) and several inscriptions discovered here furnish us with the following genealogy of the rulers : Adityavarman, of the Solar race, Balavaran, Divakaravarman, and Meruvarman c. AD. 700.

As we have no records of the first three rulers it is not unlikely that they were mere vassals of the kings of Jalandhara and Meruvarman was the first member who brought the dynasty to prominence. The inscriptions dated in the Harsha era are not found beyond the Karnal district in the Haryana and Panjab regions, and hence it may be inferred that the region lying to the west of the said district was outside Harsha's jurisdiction. This Jalandhara appears to have been a kingdom of considerable importance in the first half of the 7th century A. D. The life of Hiuen-Tsang calls the king of the country as the sovereign of north India and this is conclusive proof of the independent status of the state. The king of Jalandhara is mentioned in the life of Hiuen-Tsang as having supplied a military escort to the Chinese pilgrim on his return journey, although Harsha afterwards added a great elephant to this escort and provided some money for defraying the expenses of the Chinese pilgrim.

After spending four months at Jalandhara Hiuen-Tsang went to Kulu. He mentions that 'going north-east from this, skirting along some high mountain passes and traversing some deep valleys, following dangerous roads, and crossing many ravines, going 700 li (117 miles) or so, we came to the country of Kiu-lu-to (Kuluta). This country is about 3000 li (500 miles) in circuit and surrounded on every side by mountains. The chief town is about 14 or 15 li (upwards of 2 miles) round. The land is rich and fertile and the crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the snowy mountains, there are found here many medicinal (roots) of much value. Gold silver and copper are found here—fire-drops (crystal) and native copper (teou). The climate is unusually cold,

and hail or snow continually falls. The people are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours. Their nature is hard and fierce : they greatly regard justice and bravery. There are about twenty Sangharamas and 1000 priests or so. They mostly study the Great Vehicle : a few practice (the rules of) other schools (nikayas). There are fifteen Deva temples ; different sects occupy them without distinction.

‘Along the precipitous sides of the mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers, which face one another. Here the Arhats dwell or the Rishis stop.

‘In the middle of the country is a stupa built by Ashoka-*rāja*. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This stupa is a memorial of the traces of his presence.

‘Going north from this, along a road thick with dangers and precipices about 1800 or 1900 li; (300 miles) along mountains and valleys, we came to the country of lo-u-lo (Lahaul).

‘North of this 2000 li (334 miles) or so travelling by a road dangerous and precipitous where icy winds and flying snow (assault the traveller), we came to the country of Mo-lo-so (called also San-po-ho).’

Hiuen-Tsang has not mentioned anything about the political status of Kuluta. Probably it was under the local ruler of Jalandhara. It appears that Buddhism was widely practised. It has now practically disappeared from the valley, the only symbol remaining being a stone image of Avalokitesvara, in a temple of Kapila Muni at Kelat, some miles north of Sultanpur, which is still worshipped. The records of Hiuen-Tsang throw some light upon the extent and objects of Kuluta trade with the Indian plains. He has mentioned about the abundance of gold, silver, copper, crystal lenses and medicinal plants which were exported in large quantities to the plains. Medicinal plants from Kashmir and Kuluta were also exported to the Roman territories.

Nirmand Plate :

It has already been shown that inscriptions dated in the Harsha era are not found beyond the Karnal district, in Haryana. There has been some controversy regarding the date of the Nirmand (Kulu district) plate of the Mahasamanta Maharaja Samudrasena of the year 6. Dr. Fleet on palaeographical grounds infers that it belonged to the 7th century. The donor of the grant calls himself

a Mahasamanta or feudatory of some paramount power, probably of Kulu or Jalandhara, but the name of the state over which he ruled is not stated. R. S. Tripathi assigns the record to the Harsha era. The plate mentions the Mahasamanta Maharaja Varmasena; his son from Prabhalika, the Mahasamanta Maharaja Sanjayasena; his son from Sikharasvamini, the Mahasamanta Maharaja Ravisena; his son from Mihiralakshmi, the Mahasamanta Maharaja Samudrasena. It also mentions a chief of the past, a Maharaja Sarvavarman. This dynasty appears to have been subordinate to the rulers of Kuluta and in turn Jalandhara and the year 6 possibly refers the regal year of Samudrasena.

A pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty bearing the surname of Sena, is said to have ruled in Spiti in the early centuries of the Christian era, and Captain Harcourt states that coins with the Sena suffix on them have been found in the valley. These statements have not been verified, but if authentic, the donor of the Nirmand plate may have been one of the Spiti rajas.

In A. D. 636 Hiuen-Tsang was at Thaneshwar. From here he went to the Gokantha monastery which was about 100 li (17 miles) away. From there he travelled 400 li (67 miles) in the north-east direction to a country called Srughna. He says that 'this country is about 6000 li (1000 miles) in circuit. On the eastern side it borders on the Ganges river, on the north it is backed by great mountains. The river Yamuna flows through its frontiers. The capital is about 30 li (7 miles) in circuit and is bounded on the east by the Yamuna. It is deserted, although its foundations are still very strong. As to produce of soil and character of climate this country resembles the Kingdom of Thaneshwar. The disposition of the people is sincere and truthful. They honour and have faith in heretical teaching, and they greatly esteem the pursuit of learning, but principally religious wisdom (or the wisdom that brings happiness).

'There are five Sangharamas with about 1000 priests; the greater number study the little vehicle; a few exercise themselves in other (exceptional) schools. They deliberate and discuss in appropriate language (choice words), and their clear discourses embody profound faith. Men of different regions of eminent skill discuss with them to satisfy their doubts. There are a hundred Deva temples with very many sectarian unbelievers.

'To the south-west of the capital and west of the river Yamuna

is a Sangharama outside the eastern gate of which is a stupa built by Ashokaraja. The Tathagata, when in the world in former days, preached the law in this place to convert men. By its side is another stupa in which there are relics of the Tathagata's hair and nails. Surrounding this on the right and left are Stupas enclosing the hair and nail relics of Sariputra and of Maudgalyayana and other Arhats several tens in number.

'After the Tathagata had entered Nirvana this country was the seat of heretical teaching. The faithful were perverted to false doctrine and forsook the orthodox views. Now there are five Sangharamas in places where master of treatises from different countries, holding controversies with the heretics and Brahmans, prevailed; they were erected on this account.'

Hiuen-Tsang reckons his distance from the capital as usual. The distance indicated from Thaneshwar in a north-east direction would take us to Kalsi in the Jaunsar-Bawar district, to the east of Sirmur. Cunningham places Srughna at Sugh, a place about fifty miles north-east from the Gokantha monastery. It appears from Cunningham's account of the pillar of Ashoka which was brought by Firoz Shah from a place called Topur or Tapera on the bank of the Yamuna, in the district of Galora, not far from Khizrabad, which is at the foot of the mountains, 90 miles from Delhi, which place Cunningham identifies with Paonta, not far from Kalsi. This neighbourhood was famous in olden days as a Buddhist locality. Therefore, we should trust Hiuen-Tsang's 400 li north-east from Thaneshwar and place the capital of Srughna at or near Kalsi, which Cunningham also includes in the district. According to him Srughna was spread between the Giri and Ganga rivers in the Sirmur-Garhwal hills. There is a likelihood that Sirmuri-Tal was the ancient capital of Srughna, which was destroyed by a flood in the later 12th century. The ruins of the city are scattered over a large area in Sirmuri-Tal.

Hiuen-Tsang resided for sometime at Srughna with the monk Jaya-Guptam but he has not mentioned anything about its ruler and political status. As it was only about 67 miles from Thaneshawar, it is likely, however, that it was a dependency of Kanauj and because of the close proximity of this kingdom to Thaneshawara and Kanauj, must have been the feudatory of Harsha.

It will be seen from the above discussion that in the 7th century Brahmaur, Jalandhara, Kuluta, Spiti and Srughna were

important kingdoms lying in the Himalayan valleys between the Ravi and the Tons-Jamuna rivers. After the accession of Harsha in A. D. 606 there were no foreign invasions. There was peace in these hills. These states were rich in food, fruits and mineral wealth. The people were free to worship. Buddhism and Hinduism were both widely supported during this period. Hinduism acquired characteristics which have remained with it ever since, while Buddhism assumed a form which was to lead to its decline. Practising Hindus were divided into two main sects, the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas, each claiming Vishnu or Shiva as the supreme diety. The former, the worshippers of Vishnu, were more prevalent in the lower foot-hills, whereas the worshippers of Shiva were found in great numbers in the middle and upper belts of this part of the Himalayas, which is still the case. We learn from the Chinese pilgrim that Buddhism was widely practised. There were many Buddhist monasteries in Jalandhara, Kuluta and Srughna where thousands of monks lived. He noticed the adherents of both Hinayana and Mahayana in Jalandhara. In Kuluta he came across only the adherents of Mahayana and at Srughna of Hinayana. In the later period Buddhism was influenced by Tantric rites and in the 7th century A. D. a new branch of Buddhism called Vajrayana emerged with its centre in eastern India. The cult spread in the border areas and is still prevalent there.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RAJPUT STATES

Mian Goberdhan Singh

Very little is known of the history of Himachal Pradesh during the troubled times that followed Harsha's death in A. D. 647 until we come to the reign of King Yashovarman (A. D. 700-740), who was a contemporary of Lalitaditya (A. D. 724-760) of Kashmir. Both were ambitious rulers. We learn from the *Rajatarangini* that there was a war between them and Yashovarman was defeated. Kalhana, the historian of Kashmir, credited him with having led his troops to distant countries. During this period Trigarta, Brahmapura and other western hills came under his influence. Again, when Shankaravarman (A. D. 883-903) of Kashmir led an expedition for the conquest of Gujara (Gujarat) he was opposed by the chief of Trigarta who was perhaps an ally of Gujara, but on the approach of the Kashmir army he fled away. The chief was Prithvi Chandra. Trigarta was then subject to Kashmir, which had extended its sovereignty as far as the Sutlej, but it did not last long.

Harsha had made Kanauj an imperial city. Since that time it had become a centre of power in northern India. During the post-Harsha period, it formed the centre of attraction for all the great powers that arose in the succeeding centuries and they regarded its possession as a consummation to be devoutly wished for. The Rashtrakutas, under the leadership of Dantidurga (c.A.D. 757-773), rose from the south, the Palas under Dharampala (c. A. D. 770-810) from the east and the Pratiharas under Nagabhatta I, Mihira Bhoja (c. A. D. 836-885) and Mahendrapala (c. A. D. 885-908) from the west and the north. Thus the stage was set for the triangular struggle for Kanauj between the Rashtrakutas, Palas and Pratiharas. The master of Kanauj was considered to be the paramount ruler of the western Himalayan hill states. In the struggle for supremacy it became the seat of Gurjara Pratiharas. They extended their power northwards as far as Pehoa in the Karnal district and their further progress was stopped by Shankaravarman of Kashmir. But Rajeshekhara speaks about Mahipala Bhoja II's conquest in the north up to Kuluta. This

appears to be Rajashekhara's exaggeration. The empire of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj has been described as the whole of northern India, except the three areas especially mentioned here, namely Tihut, Bengal and Uttarapatha, the last of which comprised western Panjab, the Panjab hills and Kashmir. Mihira Bhoja's Pehoa inscription shows that his armies carried his arms up to Karnal and the principalities lying in the north western Himalayas were outside the Gurajara-Pratiharas' paramountcy.

As the Pratihara empire declined in the latter half of the tenth century, their feudatories tried to fill in the vacuum and thus arose the Rajput states in Rajasthan and the Ganga-Jamuna Doab. With the country divided into so many fragments, a struggle for supremacy was inevitable. Having no physical boundaries to divide and check them, each fragment tried to reduce its neighbours to subjection. Instead of counteracting the danger from the north-west by presenting a united front, they continued fighting amongst themselves for supremacy. Those who could not conquer and subdue their rivals in the plains, turned their way to the north and with their followers penetrated into the central and western Himalayan valleys. This led to the rise of powerful hill principalities. Thus most of these hill states were founded before the eleventh century when the Muslim invasion of India started.

From the 8th century to the 12th century A. D. adventurous Rajput migrants founded numerous states in the outer ranges of the Himalayas between the Ravi and the Jamuna. Some of these principalities were founded as late as the 15th or 16th century.

The traditional history of Kangra (Jalandhara-Trigarta) goes back to a time long anterior to the Christian era. After the Muslim invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot of Kangra became the capital of the state. From Kangra sprang the offshoots of Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur. Traditionally, Jaswan is said to have become independent about A.D. 1170. The next separation was that of Guler about A. D. 1405 and the foundation of the state took place in the following manner : Hari Chand, the Raja of Kangra, being out hunting, got separated from his followers and fell into a well. After a fruitless search the hunting party returned to Kangra, believing that the chief was dead. His funeral rites were performed, the ranis becoming satis and Karan Chand, the younger brother of the raja, was seated on the gaddi. But Hari Chand was still alive, and after twenty-two days,

it is said, his presence in the well was discovered by a merchant, who extricated him. On hearing of what had taken place at Kangra, he resolved not to attempt the recovery of the kingdom and selecting a spot in Guler he built the town and fort of Haripur and founded a new state. Siba and Datarpur were both offshoots of Guler. Siba was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century by Sibran Chand, a younger brother of the ruling chief of Guler who made himself independent and gave his name to the new state. Datarpur was founded about A.D. 1550 and in much the same way, by Datar Chand, a scion of the Siba family. Datarpur and Jaswan are both in the Hoshiarpur district.

Nurpur state to the west of Kangra, is said to have been founded by a Tomar Rajput, named Jhetpal from Delhi, who settled in Pathankot about A.D. 1000. In its palmy days it included the whole of the present Nurpur tehsil of Kangra, with the area of Shahpur and Kandi, now in Gurdaspur. Its ancient capital was at Pathankot, the original name of which was Prati-shthana.

Suket and Mandi tradition has it that Bir Sen, the founder of the Suket state, was the grandson or the great-grandson of the last Hindu ruler of Bihar, Lakshman Sen, the founder of Lakhnauti. When Bakhtiar Khālji attacked the country in 1198-99 Lakshman Sen, who had been told by his astrologer that he could not succeed against the Turk invader, fled from his capital Nadia towards Dacca and settled at Bikrampur. His son Madho Sen succeeded him here. He was followed by Sur Sen, whose son Rup Sen was expelled from Bikrampur and after a series of adventures reached eastern Panjab, where he settled at Rupar in the Ambala district and gave to the place his name. The Muslims, however, did not leave him alone there as well and he fell fighting against his enemies in A.D. 1210. His three sons then fled to the hills, one of them, Bir Sen, turning towards Suket, Giri Sen to Keonthal and Hamir Sen to Kishtwar. In A.D. 1211 Bir Sen crossed the Sutlej and came to Jiuri and from there he attacked the neighbouring chiefs and subdued the country, and founded the principality of Suket.

Mandi, like Guler, was an offshoot of Suket. About A.D. 1330 in the time of Sahu Sen, the eighth ruler of the dynasty, a younger brother named Bahu Sen quarreled with the raja and left Suket to reside in Manglaur, Kulu. His descendants lived there for eleven generations until Karan Chand Sen, then head of the

family, was killed fighting with a Kulu raja. His queen, a daughter of the chief of Seokot in Mandi, although pregnant, was forced to take flight. She lost her way in the dense oak forest; and night coming on, fell exhausted beneath a 'ban' tree where to her a son was born who was named Ban. Rana Seokot having no male heir recognised his daughter's son as his successor, and on the death of his grandfather, the boy Bansen became chief of Seokot. He enlarged his inheritance and built himself a new residence at Bhinuli, four miles above the present town of Mandi. Afterwards his son Kaliar Sen bought Batauhli across the river from Mandi and there constructed a palace the ruins of which may still be seen. Ajbar Sen, nineteenth in descent from Bahu Sen, founded in 1527 the town of Mandi.

Kutlehr, on the border of Kangra and Hoshiarpur, was founded about the tenth or eleventh century by one Jas Pal, who conquered the area of Talhati and Kutlehr and fixed his capital at Kot Kutlehr. The progenitor of the family was a Brahman, but on acquiring regal power he was recognised as Rajput. Barnes states that he came from Sambhal, near Moradabad, but the family records trace his descent from a raja of Poona. The two small states of Bhajji and Koti in the Simla hills are said to have been founded respectively by his second son and grandson.

Bangahal, like Kutlehr, is said to have been founded about A.D. 1200 by a Brahman, who ranked as Rajput on becoming a raja and his descendents are said to have ruled the state for twenty generations previous to Prithi Pal, who was murdered about 1920. The capital of the state was at Bir in Bir Bangahal.

The Bilaspur (Kahlur) state was in the lower Sutlej valley. Previous to the foundation of Kahlur, the territory was under the rule of local chiefs called Ranas and Thakurs. The founder of the Bilaspur state came from Chanderi in Bundelkhand. The story runs that Harihar Chand, a ruling prince, came on a pilgrimage with his four sons to Jawalamukhi, a sacred place in the Kangra district, saw Jhandhari, now in Hoshiarpur district, in course of his journey, and attracted by the place conquered and settled in it. They then went on to Jawalamukhi to worship at the shrine. Nadaun being near, a visit was paid to the Raja of Kangra, then resident there. The retainers of the two chiefs held a friendly tournament, in which the southern knights were successful. The Raja thereupon arranged a tent pegging contest for the following

day. The youngest of the four brothers, named Sabir Chand, entered the contest. He was thrown from the horse and killed. This was attributed to treachery on the part of the Kangra Raja, and led to an encounter in which he and Harihar Chand were both killed. Then the three surviving princes retreated in different directions. Kabir Chand wandered to Kumaon, in the U.P. hills, and was adopted by the raja of that state. Ghambir Chand took possession of Chandehni in the Jammu hills. Bir Chand, the oldest, with his followers retired to the Sutlej valley, where he conquered a territory from the local rulers and settled on the left bank. Being guided by some propitious sign to a site for his capital he built a temple to Naina Devi on one of the seven ridges now called Dhar Naina Devi. At one end of the hill he erected a fort called Kot Kahlur, and founded a town called Naina Devi, as the capital of the new state in the plains. This state was founded about A.D. 900.

Nalagarh is an offshoot of Bilaspur. Khan Chand, the eleventh Raja of Bilaspur, had three sons : Ajit Chand, Ajai Chand and Tegh Chand. Ajit Chand resolved to carve out a principality for himself. Having raised a force in his father's kingdom, he invaded the territory of Handu, the Brahman Thakur of Hindur. Handu's cruel and unjust rule had alienated the affections of his subjects, and they welcomed Ajai Chand as a deliverer. Handu was defeated. Ajai Chand thus established the state of Hindur, also known as Nalagarh. The tract of the country lying between the rivers of Sutlej and Jamuna ; the former bounding it to the north-west and north, the latter to the south east, was divided into a variety of large and small states, governed by chiefs more or less independent, in proportion as they were powerful. Of these, though far from being equal in population and resources, two may be considered as of the first rank, viz. Bashahr and Sirmur. These occupy by far the largest portion of the tract in question, whilst the remainder was divided into great number of petty states, all of which were recognised under the appellation of the Barah Thakurai, or twelve lordships and Athara Thakurai or eighteen lordships. The twelve Thakurai were :

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|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Keonthal, | 2. Baghat, | 3. Kuthar, |
| 4. Kunihar, | 5. Bhajji, | 6. Dhami, |
| 7. Mehlog, | 8. Koti, | 9. Mangal, and |
| 10. Beja, | 11. Bharoli, | 12. Baghal. |

These principalities were spread in the lower Simla hills. We give below in brief the history of their establishment.

Keonthal was founded about 1211 A. D. by Giri Sen younger brother of Bir Sen, the founder of the Suket state. The circumstances that led Giri Sen to enter these hills have already been mentioned under Suket state. Baghal and Baghat states were found by two Panwar Rajput brothers. Tradition says that Raja Vikramaditya of Ujjain's three sons migrated to the Barah Thakurai hills (now forming the Solan district). Ajedev conquered Baghal, his brother, Bijedev, founded the Baghat state and the third brother became a saint.

Bhajji and Koti were founded by the second and third sons of Raja Rampal of Kutlehr in the Kangra district. Both the brothers are stated to have left Kutlehr on their father's death and established themselves in Bhajji and Koti. Charu founded Bhajji and Chand, Koti. Their capitals were named Mool Bhajji and Mool Koti.

Dhami was established by a Chauhan adventurer who is stated to be a descendent of Prithviraj Chauhan. The ancestors of the founder were driven from the neighbourhood of Delhi to Raipur in the Ambala district by the invasion of Shahbuddin Ghori in the 12th century.

Mehlog's founder, Hari Chand, came on a pilgrimage from Ayodhya and attracted by the country, conquered and founded the state of Mehlog, the date of the conquest being unknown. At first he settled at Bhowann and then settled at Patta and made it the capital of his state.

Kuthar's founder, Surat Chand came from Rajauri in the Jammu hills, and conquered this petty state. The date of this event is not known.

Kunihar's founder, Bhoj Deo, also came from the Jammu hills. Mangal's founder was an Atri Rajput. He is said to have come from Marwar.

Beja and Bharoti states were founded by the fugitive Rajput princes from the plains.

Athara Thakurai were in the upper hill valleys of the Sutlej, Pabar and Tons rivers. Their names were :

- | | |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Jubbal, | 5. Ratesh, |
| 2. Sari, | 6. Ghund, |
| 3. Rawingarh, | 7. Madhan, |
| 4. Balson, | 8. Theog, |

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 9. Kumarsain, | 14. Darkoti, |
| 10. Khaneti, | 15. Tharoch, |
| 11. Delath, | 16. Dhadi, |
| 12. Karangla, | 17. Sangri, and |
| 13. Kotkhai-Kotgarh, | 18. Dodra Kavar. |

Bashahr which was outside the region of these eighteen Thakurai, occupied the upper Sutlej valley. It was one of the oldest of the hill states in the western Himalayas. The rajas of Bashahr originally had their seat at Kamru in the Baspa valley. Later on they shifted their capital to Sarahan, and in the 17th century to Rampur which formed the lower limits of his state.

Among the Athara Thakurai some were of considerable size and importance, particularly Jubbal. Tradition has it that before the 12th century the ancestors of the rulers of Jabbal were rulers of Sirmur. They belonged to the Rathore clan of Chandravanshi Rajputs. Their transfer from Sirmur to Jubbal is accounted for in the following manner. One Ugra Chand, the Raja of Sirmur, had a summer palace at Soonpur, the modern Hatkoti on the right bank of the Pahar river. While he was having a pleasant time with his three sons, he was called back to Sirmur on state business. Leaving his family behind, he went thither, but owing to the rains, the rivers were in floods. His capital Sirmauri Tal was swept away by the flood and he and his principal officers found watery graves, and there was none to carry the news to the royal children. A prince of the Jaisalmer house happening to be there at the time on pilgrimage to Badrinath, asked his son Sobha to march and occupy the vacant throne. Then he was installed on the gaddi by the priests of the principality, and thus the country was once for all lost to the descendants of Ugra Chand.

The three sons of Ugra Chand—Karam Chand, Mool Chand, and Duni Chand—then respectively became the founders of the states of Jubbal, Sari and Rawin in the Giri and Pabar basins.

Balson and Ratesh were the offshoots of ancient Sirmur and trace their descent from the old Rathore family of Sirmur that ruled there before the 12th century. Alak Singh is stated to be the founder of Balson state. He acquired Balson by conquest, the date of which event is not known. The founder of Ratesh was Rai Singh, a brother of Raja Karam Prakash.

Ghund, Madhan and Theog had a common origin. The traditional account says that a Chandel Rajput of Jaipur who

made a pilgrimage to Badrinath, and taking fancy to the hill country settled at Ram Serai in Garhwal. He afterwards moved to Bilaspur, and had four sons, all of whom founded petty principalities. Janjin Singh founded Ghund, the second son founded Madhan and the eldest son, Jais Chand, founded the state of Theog. All these states were in the upper Gird valley.

Tradition has it that Kumarsain, Khaneti, Delath, Karangla and Kotkhai-Kotgarh states also had a common origin. The story runs that some time in the eleventh century one Kirat Chand with his brothers arrived from Gaya, driven thence by the fear of Mahmud Ghazni. Some say he came to Karangla but others insist that he came to a site now called Kumarsain. According to the latter he acquired the Kumarsain, Kotgarh and Khaneti countries by conquest from one Bhambu Rai Mavana of Delath. Later on Kirat Singh gave Karangla to his brother Kartar Singh and made him ruler of that area. But Khaneti state tradition offers a different version. According to it, Kirat Singh had a son named Ugra Chand and on the death of a local chief Bhambu Rai he succeeded to the latter's kingdom. He had three sons, Sansar Chand, Sabir Chand and Jai Singh.

When Ugra Chand died, Sansar Chand got Karangla and Sabir Chand and Jai Singh came to Khaneti, and started by jointly ruling Khaneti, Kotgarh and Kotkhai.

Sabir Chand and his descendants held their kingdom securely for five generations. In the sixth generation two brothers, Duni Chand and Shimal Singh, set up rival claims, formed two factions, and each seized as much of the country as he could lay his hands on. The result was that Duni Chand became the ruler of Khaneti, and Ahimal Singh of Kotkhai-Kotgarh.

The tradition of Delath says that the state was founded by Priti Singh, a brother of Kirat Singh the founder of Kumarsain, and that these were two brothers of four who came from Gaya and settled at Karangla in Bashahr.

Darkoti in the upper Gird valley was founded by Durga Singh who is said to be a scion of the Jaipur ruling house. About Tharoch it is said that Deokaran, one of the Maharaj Kumars of Udaipur, came to the hills and settled at Sirmur. Tharoch formerly constituted a part of the Sirmur state, and was bestowed as a gift on Kishan Singh, the descendant of Deokaran. This state came into being sometime in the 15th or 16th century. Dhadi was an

offshoot of Tharoch. Sangri originally belonged to Bashahr, and was taken from that state by Raja Man Singh of Kulu sometime during the first half of the eighteenth century. Later on, it came to be known as Sangri state of Athara Thakurai.

In the list of Athara Thakurai, Capt. C. P. Kennedy includes the name of Dodra Kavar. This region is situated in the upper basin of the Tons river between Garhwal and Rohru valley. It appears that it was under a local chief who was a tributary of Bashahr.

The early history of Sirmur is obscure. It is said that the original rulers belonged to Rathore clan and had their capital at Sirmur now called Sirmauri Tal, a village now in ruins. At the end of 12th century a flood came into the Giri river and swept away the king and all his kin, and the country was without a ruler, Salvahan II, of the house of Jaisalmer, was just then on a visit to Hardwar as a pilgrimage and he was invited by a ministerial to take up the sovereignty. A force was accordingly sent under his son, Prince Sobha. He put down disorder and became the ruler of the state with the title of Subhans Prakash.

Thus we see that with the exception of Kangra, Kulu, Bashahr and Chamba all the other states were founded by Rajput adventurerers from the Indian plains from the 8th century to the 12th century A. D. It is interesting to note that older and more important states bear names which, as in ancient India, were applicable both to the country and to the tribe by which it was inhabited. Such names are Trigarta and Kuluta. It is impossible to say if the name was first applied to the country or to the tribe. In the case of Trigarta it was probably the former, if we may trust traditional etymology, and in the case of Kuluta it was probably the latter.

In all these states the name of the capital was different from that of the principality. Thus states of later origin were generally named after their capitals. The the states Chamba, Mandi, Nurpur and Bilaspur received their names from their capitals.

The history of these hill states is one of almost continuous warfare. When a strong ruler rose to power, the larger states absorbed or made tributary the smaller neighbours, but these again asserted their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity arrived. These wars, however, did not lead to any great political changes. On the whole the hill chiefs were considerate of each

other's rights. Being generally of the same race and faith, and also often related to one another by marriage they were content to make each other tributary, or to replace a deposed chief by one of his own kinsmen.

But the main cause, why the political condition of the hill states underwent little change in the course of many centuries lies in the nature of the country. The extent of each state was originally determined by natural boundaries, the mountain ranges of the Himalayas, and though exceptional circumstances might sometimes lead to extension beyond or reduction within these boundaries, the state would ere long revert to the limits set by nature.

'Considering the restricted resources of the contending parties', writes J. Hutchinson, 'these wars must have been waged on a very limited scale. But though limited in scope these wars were not less destructive, relatively, than the great struggles between powerful nations.'

The existence of these petty principalities was ultimately contingent upon the ability of their individual rajas to defend their states against aggression and to maintain their control over them. The raja's strength was derived from a combination of cultural, political and economic factors, each of which contributed to his hold over his people and the forces he could marshal in defence of his boundaries and prerogatives.

The basis for kingship in any community is directly related to the cultural background of the people of that community. In a society where life, wealth and prestige are intimately bound up in the land ownership of land is the ultimate expression of power. And in the hills the general maxim was : The land is the prerogative of the crown.

To put the political aspect of land control in the clearest possible focus, the land was life; the land was security; the land was wealth and prestige. And the land was the raja's. The raja, therefore, controlled life; he controlled security; he controlled wealth and prestige; he controlled his people.

In addition to the political power which control of the land assured him, the raja could collect taxes, call upon the labour of his peasants to build up his defences and help till his lands. This compulsory and often unpaid labour played an important role in the day-to-day conduct of the business of the states.

However, it must not be thought that raja's power in these respects was unlimited. It was limited simply because there is limit to human endurance. If the raja's exactions in terms of unpaid labour went too far, his peasants left him and migrated to some place more favourable to life and work.

H. W. Emerson writes that 'the authority of the Rajas was of a three-fold nature—religious, feudal and personal. He was the head of the State religion, venerated as divine, either in his own right or on viceregent of the national god. He was supreme and sole owner of the soil, the fountain from which issued the right of the cultivator to a share of the produce, and master of his subject who owed him personal allegiance and service.'

The raja was the fountain-head of justice in his state and in all cases an appeal lay to him and his decision was final.

The economic strength of the hill states depended on several considerations. The first of these was the size of the state and its natural resources. The more the land raja controlled, the greater his income.

Those states which were fortunate enough to control important trade routes were able to add very substantially to their resources by levying customs duties on the merchandise that passed through their territories.

One of the important sources of wealth of the hill rajas, however, lay in the fertile lands of the riverside. Many of the hill rajas were in a position where they could control sections of the rich land. The crops were richer, and usually more than one crop a year could be grown, so that the income was higher.

The most valuable items of export from the hills were skins, herbs, timber and *Pinus Gerardiana*.

The material resources of the hill states were always limited and probably few of them had an annual revenue of more than six to ten lakhs of rupees; many of the smaller ones must have had much less. Then money was much more valuable than now, food and other commodities being much cheaper. The feudal service also relieved the state of heavy expenditure, especially in times of war.

With the coming of Rajputs to the hills, art and cultural influences began pouring in from northern India. The stylistic tradition and artistic conventions brought in by these new arrivals

were mainly the offshoots of the Pratihara art. The hill chiefs invited their kinsmen to assist them in administration and military adventures. They also invited artisans and artists to build forts, palaces and temples for them. During this period the Indo-Aryan style of temple architecture was introduced. The temples of Indo-Aryan style were mostly erected in the towns and hill-type temples were built in the villages.

About the architectural remains of this period Ananda K. Coomaraswamy writes in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* : 'A considerable series of Nagara temples is found in the Panjab Himalayas. The most important of these is the eighth or ninth century monolithic group at Masrur, Kangra. Structural temples apparently of the ninth century are found at Baijnath, where the mandap has an interesting balcony window, and the porch is provided with elegant columns having cylindrical shafts and pot and foliage capitals. Baijnath is equivalent to Vaidyanatha, a name of Siva as Lord of Physicians, and may be possibly connected with an early cult of Lokeshvara. The Visvesvara temple at Hat, Bajaura, Kulu has three projecting side chapels containing five relief structures of Ganesh, Visnu and Durga, there are river goddesses at the sides of the porch; the decorative motifs include chaitya-arches enclosing heads and makaras almost dissolved in arabesque. Thus the ensemble present an appearance analogous to that of later Javanese architecture. This shrine is undated, but may be assigned to the tenth century. In Chamba there are extant—in temples at Brahmaur and Chattrahri—large images of Lakshana Devi (Mahisasura-mardani), Sakti Devi, Ganesa and Nandi with inscriptions showing that they were made to the order of a king Meruvarman by a craftsman (Kammina) of the name of Gugga; assigned on paleographic grounds to the 8th century, the images themselves are mechanically conceived, and apart from the inscriptions would be assigned to a later date. More interesting is the Nirmand mask of Mujuni-devi, queen or goddess of a Raja Hemaprakasa of Kulu, of ninth or tenth century date."

Many temples and sculptures of great interest are preserved in the valleys of Himachal Pradesh.

EARLY MUSLIM INVASIONS AND MUGHAL RULE

M. S. Ahluwalia

Early Muslim Invasions

The hills of Himachal Pradesh, dotted over with various big and small states, enjoyed varying degrees of independence on the eve of the Muslim invasions. These hills abound in historical remains which bear witness to the lives and work of numerous Ranas and Thakurs, who exercised authority in the area either as independent rulers or as tributaries of a paramount power from Bushahr to Jammu and from Mansarover to Kangra. Some of the important hill states on the eve of the Muslim invasions were Kulu, Bushahr, Lahaul, Nalagarh, Kahlur (modern Bilaspur), Kangra, Dhamin (modern Nurpur), Chamba, Mandi and Suket.

Trigarta Empire

As early as the seventh century A. D. at the time of Hieun-Tsang's visit to Panjab, the fertile tract of land constituting Jullundur and the area lying between the two doabs of the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, was an independent state which also included, apart from Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Chamba, Mandi and Sirhind. Jullundur was its capital and the fort of Kangra served as the mainstay of its defence.

This state was also known by the name of Trigarta, which in reality was the name of Nagarkot or Kot Kangra, situated in the hilly region of Kangra. According to an inscription of A. D. 804 at Baijnath, near Kangra, Raja Jai Chand was then the ruler.

Towards the end of the ninth century, Prithvi Chandra was guiding the affairs of this state. He sent his son Bhavana Chandra as a hostage to the court of Shankarvarman to signify his submission to the Kashmir monarch. This, however, did not improve matters and Shankarvarman marched upon Jullundur. Prithvi Chandra went out to meet him, but at the very sight of a huge army he was so frightened that he thought that safety lay in flight. Jullundur was thus added to the empire of Shankarvarman.

Mahmud Ghaznavi

Several of the Himachal hill states experienced Muslim invasions from time to time. Mahmud Ghaznavi is said to have conquered Kangra and desecrated the fort at the beginning of the tenth century.

It is not known how and when the Katoch kings vacated the fort. But it is said that a Tomar ruler of Delhi had roused the countryside by the story that the lord of Nagarkot had appeared to him in a dream and suggested that he lay buried in the neighbourhood of the old shrine waiting to be installed in his rightful place in the fort. He conquered Kangra from the Ghaznavids. That conquest, however, did not bring it under Delhi. It remained an independent state, may be in friendly relations with the Tomars of Delhi.

The Ghorids

While the Ghorids were supplanting the Ghaznavids in Afghanistan, Delhi also saw a turn of the wheel of fortune about the middle of the twelfth century. In the conflict between the Chauhans of Sambhar and the Muslims at the close of twelfth century, the former were defeated and Delhi passed into the hands of the Muslim conquerors. By and large, the whole stretch of territory in northern India fell to the invading Turks.

The rulers of Kangra were probably still the 'lords of Trigarta', the land of three rivers up to the hills until the accession of the Tughluq Sultans to the Delhi throne in the first half of the fourteenth century when the chief of Nagarkot accepted the overlordship of the Delhi Sultan.

The Sultanate Period

According to traditional accounts the hill states of Himachal Pradesh during the medieval period were ruled by petty chiefs bearing the title of Rana or Thakur. The domain of the Raja was called Ranhun and that of a Thakur, Thakuri or Thakurai. The duration of their rule was spoken of as the Ap Thakuri or Ap Thakurai. The Simla hill states, for instance were collectively called the Thakurain and the rulers of all but four (the chiefs of Bilaspur, Bushahr, Nalagarh and Sirmur bore the title of Raja), bore the ancient title of Rana or Thakur. These Rajas, Ranas and Thakurs were exercising religious, feudal as well as personal

authority. Due to their isolated position and the inaccessible character of the region the Himachal hill states maintained their independent political status for several hundred years. With the advent of the Muslims, however, some of them were compelled to bow before their authority.

Kangra House

The Katoch dynasty of Kangra was one of the oldest Hindu ruling houses of India which traced its genealogy to a mythical progenitor, Bhuma Chand, supposed to have sprung from the perspiration of the brow of a goddess. Their vanshavalī (pedigree) contains nearly five hundred names from Bhuma Chand onwards. The first two hundred and thirty-three names are legendary and nothing historical is known about them.

The first well-known figure of the Kangra house was Susharman Chandra, the two hundred and thirty-fourth from the founder. He ruled over Multan and is credited with having fought in the Mahabharat war as an ally of the Kauravas. After their defeat he retired to Jullundur which became the capital of his kingdom and he also built a second capital at Nagarkot. Thus he was the real founder of Nagarkot. The kingdom of Jullundur or Trigarta at the time of its greatest expansion comprised almost all the country between the Sutlej and the Ravi in the outer hills, except Kulu, and also the Jullundur Doab in the plains.

Nagarkot

As a result of the Muslim invasions in Panjab, the territory on the plains was lost and Nagarkot became the chief capital of the Katoch kings. Nagarkot or Kot Kangra has the name of the city situated on a hill and its fort is called Kangra. Kot Kangra stands over a lofty ridge south of the town of Nagarkot. The fort is surrounded on the three sides by inaccessible cliffs. Literally, Kangra means a fortification or fortress. Legend is that it stands over the ear of demon Jalandhar. It is also called Susharmapur after the name of Susharman Chandra. The fort of Kangra occupies a long strip of land on the top between the Manjhi and Banganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit, but its strength does not lie in its walls but in its precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers. The fort is also called the fort of Bhim. It had been erected on the top of a mountain by a Hindu prince of the same name.

The territory belonging to the Katoch house, which extended up to Jullundur in the plains, was lost due to Muslim invasions, and, as described above, the Katoch ruler was forced to shift to Nagarkot which henceforth became the chief capital. This, perhaps, took place during the plundering raids of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

It was, however, Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who is stated to be the first Muslim Sultan to invade Nagarkot in the middle of the fourteenth century. It appears that Nagarkot remained loyal to the Sultans of Delhi ever since its submission to Muhammad Tughluq and the Katoch prince Prithvi Chandra remained tributary to the Sultans of Delhi (1343-1357).

Sultan Feroz Tughluq and Kangra

During the reign of Sultan Feroz Tughluq, the ruler of Nagarkot remained loyal until the appointment of Shastra Chand, who repudiated his allegiance to the Sultan.

According to medieval Muslim chronicles, the father of Shastra Chand, who was deputed by Feroz Tughluq, remained loyal to the Sultan. Shastra Chand was also a nominee of the Sultan but Rup Chand was held guilty of contumacy. According to one account the Raja of Nagarkot set out with his army on a raiding expedition and plundered the plains up to Delhi. While returning laden with booty, he was encountered by Sultan Shahabuddin of Kashmir near the Sutlej and was defeated. He surrendered the spoils to the Kashmiri Sultan and swore fealty to him. Feroz was offended and provoked by this intrusion and plundering raid, and undertook the invasion of Nagarkot to punish Rup Chand.

To bring back the Katoch ruler to submission, Feroz Shah decided to undertake a military expedition to Nagarkot. For this purpose he recruited a large army and adequately equipped it with weapons of war of many prints. Unfortunately the contemporary writers do not give any date of the invasion. Afif, a contemporary Muslim writer, says that on his return from the second expedition of Bengal (June 1361), Feroz spent nearly four years before he invaded Sind. We know that Feroz attempted the conquest of Daultabad and returned from Bayana. This must have taken him approximately a year and on his return from Bayana he spent

nearly seven months in the vicinity of Sirhind and then marched to Nagarkot. Hence at least two years must have elapsed between his return from Bengal and the invasion of Nagarkot.

Sirat-i-Ferozshahi, a book written in the lifetime of Sultan Feroz, states that the Sultan returned to Delhi from his expedition to Jajnagar in 1360. This is also confirmed by other sources. All writers are unanimous in the opinion that the Nagarkot expedition of Feroz occurred just after that of Jajnagar and just before the Sind expedition, which occurred in 1361. Therefore, the Nagarkot expedition of Feroz must have occurred in 1360 A.D.

Sultan Feroz Tughluq personally led the army to Nagarkot and besieged the fort by erecting Manjaniks and Arradas. The Raja of Nagarkot entrenched himself within the fort and organised in defence. The fort, which was famous for its impregnability, defied all attempts of Sultan Feroz to capture it. The Raja of Nagarkot exhibited unusual endurance.

The siege continued for six months at the end of which the Raja tendered his submission. Afif gives a fanciful account of the Raja's submission. He writes that one day while Feroz was personally directing the siege operations, he noticed the Raja standing on the top of the fort, stretching his hands in humility and submission. The Sultan, in response to these submissive gestures of the Raja, waved his handkerchief and directed him to descend. Accordingly the Raja, along with the members of his family and chiefs, came down. He offered valuable presents and submitted. Feroz Tughluq accepted the submission and patted the back of the Raja and also awarded him a robe and a red canopy. The author of *Sirat-i-Ferozshahi* also supports the above statement and says that the Raja of Nagarkot along with his relatives sought forgiveness which the Sultan was gracious enough to accord. A native chronicle, *Dharam Chand Natak* (written in 1565) by Manik Chand, a bard of Raja Dharma Chand of Kangra, also records almost the same facts and states that Rup Chand went forth to meet the Sultan of Delhi and bowed very low. The Sultan put his hand on Rup Chand's back. The Sultan reportedly forgave the Raja and his followers, and gave him an umbrella, and an embroidered dress of honour, besides many horses.

Thus the contemporary accounts make it clear that Feroz Tughluq was not in a position to conquer Nagarkot and found a

pretext to accept the Raja's submission and made peace with him. This is confirmed by later works such as Jahangir's *Memoirs* and also *Shash Fath Kangra*. Jahangir writes that Sultan Feroz Shah himself went with a powerful force to conquer Nagarkot and besieged it for a long time. When victory over it became unattainable, he was content with the coming of the Raja to pay his respects to him. The Raja entertained the Sultan and accompanied him for some stages and then obtained leave to return. No doubt the Raja of Nagarkot met the Sultan personally and offered presents to him. The court chroniclers of Feroz Shah have magnified the nominal submission of the Katoch chief as a victory.

Visit to Jwala Mukhi

After the submission of Raja of Nagarkot, Feroz intent upon desecrating the idol and demolishing the temple which also contained a rich collection of one thousand and three hundred books on various subjects, marched to Jwala Mukhi.

Jwala Mukhi is situated on an ancient site in the Dera Gopipur Tehsil of Kangra district, on the road from Kangra town to Nadaun at the foot of a precipitous range of hills. It is famous for the temple of goddess Jwala Mukhi, 'She of the flaming mouth'. The famous temple is built over a fissure at the base of a high range of hills, twenty miles to the south-east of Kangra, from which the inflammable gas has continued to issue from times immemorial. The present temple of Jwala Mukhi is built against the sides of a ravine just over the cliff from which the gas escapes. It is plain outside in modern Muhammadan style of plaster and paint with a gilt dome and gilt pinnacle. The roof is also gilt inside, but the gilding is obscured by smoke. By far, the finest part of the building is the splendid folding doors of silver plates.

There is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess whose headless body is said to be in the temple of Bhawan. According to the traditional accounts, the people of Nagarkot told Feroz that the idol worshipped by the Hindus was the image of Noshaba whom they connect with the visit of Alexander to this place. Hindus took fancy for Noshaba and erected her stone idol and began to worship it. Noshaba is identified to be the wife of Alexander. Hindu mythology, however, does not have a goddess named Noshaba as recorded in the *Sikandar Namah* of Shaikh Nizami. Moreover, Alexander never

visited Jwala Mukhi. He had received the submission of the ruler on the bank of the Beas and did not go beyond Gurdaspur. The tradition recorded by the Muslim writers, therefore, seems to be a mere myth. Hindus worship goddess Jwala Mukhi as an incarnation of volcano. The goddess Jwala was also called, 'Maha Maya', a manifestation of divinity. In Hindu mythology, she is regarded as the wife of Mahesh (Shiva). Later writers say that the goddess of Jwala Mukhi was also called Bhawani.

When Feroz Shah saw the temple he summoned all the Rais, Zamindars and Ranas, accompanying him and rebuked them for worshipping this idol. At first the imperialists thought of burning the idol, but after the conclusion of peace with the Raja, they gave up the idea. A library was attached to the temple which consisted of 1300 books. The Sultan, out of his deep love for learning, took possession of these and had some of them translated. The famous writer of the age, Izzuddin Khalid Khani, translated into Persian verse, one of the books on the rising and setting of the seven planets, their good and evil impact, auguries and omens. The translation was named after the Sultan and called *Dalail-i-Ferozshahi*. Badauni read it in 1592 at Lahore and was moderately impressed. He saw some other translations also, dealing with subjects like *Pingal* (Prosody), *Akhara* called 'Paturbazi' (singing and dancing) and regarded them unprofitable and trivial.

The *Sirat-i-Ferozshahi* relates how the Katoch chief secured the Sultan's consent not to demolish the temple. The Raja requested Feroz that since he had submitted to him, the order for the demolition of the temple, which was sacred to his subjects, be withdrawn. He said that the late Sultan Muhammad Tughluq had also spared the temple. Feroz Tughluq in deference to and imitating his deceased patron, withdrew the order. Afif, on the other hand, refers to a rumour spread by the Hindus that Feroz went to see the Jwala Mukhi temple and presented a golden canopy to be hung over the idol, and adds that this imputation against the Sultan was false and had been concocted by the Hindus to slander and malign the Sultan who was a pious, devout, true and God-fearing Muslim and held the idol in deep detestation, and subjected it to indignity.

The fact that Feroz Tughluq failed to conquer Nagarkot, the candid confession of the writer of the *Sirat* that he exhibited great

patience, and also the widely current rumour about the Hindus recorded by Afif, lead one to conclude that conscious of the strength of the Raja of Nagarkot, Feroz could not or did not desecrate the temple of Jwala Mukhi.

Timur's Invasion and Kangra

Feroz Shah Tughluq's reign saw the beginning of the end of the Tughluq dynasty. It was not only the game of king-making after the death of Feroz which affected the political situation of the time, but the invasion of Timur (1398) which gave a rude shock to the crumbling structure of the kingdom.

During Timur's invasion of India, Mogha Katoch was ruling at Kangra. After waging a relentless war in Central Asia, Timur turned towards India. Fortunately for him, the time seemed to be ripe for an easy over-running of the country by a determined and able commander. Panjab was torn assunder by incessant struggles which took place on each turn of the wheel of fortune at Delhi.

After plundering Delhi, Timur decided to traverse Panjab through the Siwalik range. Somewhere in the hills there, Rattan Singh, ruling the area between the Siwaliks and some other ranges—probably a part of the present-day districts of Hoshiarpur and Kangra—opposed his progress and was defeated. Here in the hills, on the way to Nagarkot and from there to Jammu, Timur had to fight thirteen battles and captured seven forts.

Though Timur is said to have conquered Kangra it seems to be more probable that he was allowed to proceed unmolested through this region. Jwala Mukhi was not ransacked. The fort of Kangra was not touched. Timur seems to have marched from Hardwar through the present-day districts of Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Kangra from where he proceeded to Jammu via Pathankot.

Though Timur is said to have taken seven forts there and fought twenty-four engagements in thirty days, no state except that of Kangra is mentioned by name. Only three rulers elsewhere are named, namely Rattan Singh, ruler of the territory round about Sirmur, Devi Rai, beyond Kangra and Shaikha, claiming the area as far as Lahore.

In the hilly areas, the Katoch kings of Kangra remained virtually independent. After Timur's invasion, Hari Chand Katoch

succeeded to the Kangra throne in 1405. He was followed by **Karam Chand** in 1414. Then came **Ghamand Chand** and **Sansar Chand**.

Both the **Saiyyid** and the **Lodi Sultans** did not interfere in the affairs of these hilly areas and there was no conflict with them.

The Lodis

Local tradition connects some sacred places in Kangra with **Sikandar Lodi's** visit and his iconoclastic activities. Of course, his religious policy—if such fanatical anti-Hindu course of action can be so described—might have created problems here and there.

During the period of the last Lodi ruler, **Ibrahim**, Panjab and its hilly areas acquired a place in history once again because of **Babur's** invasion. Of the five alleged invasions of Hindustan by **Babur**, only four seem to have been the invasions of Hindustan proper. His capture of **Bajaur** in 1519 may be considered as a prelude to his subsequent career. By 1525 **Babur** had established his outposts at **Lahore**, **Sialkot** and in the same year passing through **Sialkot** he had turned towards **Delhi** via **Malot** near **Kangra**. **Daulat Khan**, the Governor of Panjab, and his son **Ghazi Khan**, had taken refuge in the forest below **Kangra**. **Babur** took the fort and made **Daulat Khan** a prisoner. **Babur** does not seem to have engaged the **Raja of Kangra** who, in his turn, avoided needless entanglements in affairs which did not concern him. Finally, **Babur** marched to **Delhi**. In 1526 A. D. he defeated and killed **Ibrahim Lodi** and established **Mughal** rule in India.

Part II

MUGHAL RULE

The position of the hilly areas of **Himachal** considerably changed during the rule of the **Mughals**. It has earlier been noted that after its plunder by **Mahmud of Ghazni**, the stronghold of **Nagarkot** had successfully eluded capture by two subsequent invaders. During the invasions of **Sultan Muhammad Tughluq**, and **Feroz Tughluq**, the then ruler **Rup Chand** had saved his principality by diplomacy and feigned submission.

Akbar and Kangra

Among the **Mughal** rulers, **Akbar** was the first to plan the conquest of **Kangra** fort. This event took place some time after A. D. 1572.

According to the *Akbarnama*, before proceeding on the expedition of Gujarat, Akbar took steps to prevent the recurrence of Mirza Hakim's invasion of Panjab, and sent an army under Mirza Yusuf, Raja Birbar and Fathu, to the assistance of governor Husain Quli Khan, who was directed to conquer Nagarkot in the Kangra district and make it over to Birbar. It was because its ruler Raja Jai Chand had incurred the imperial displeasure and was kept in custody at Agra, and his son Bidhi Chand, thinking that his father was put to death, was in open rebellion.

During the period when Husain Quli Khan was engaged in the siege of Nagarkot, Ibrahim Husain Mirza rebelled and proceeded towards Panjab. The governor, Husain Quli Khan, wisely giving priority to the suppression of Irbahim Husain Mirza, who was ruthlessly devastating the territory, made peace with Raja Bidhi Chand of Kangra, abandoned the siege and turned towards Dipalpur to meet the rebellious Mirza. It is related that Raja Birbar held the territory of Nagarkot for some time.

It thus appears from the account given above that the fort of Kangra remained unconquered during the period of Akbar the Great and it was only during the period of his son and successor Jahangir that the fort was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Jahangir's Annexation of Kangra

Kangra, the impregnable stronghold in the lower Himalayas, which had defied the arms of a long succession of Delhi sovereigns, was, however, starved into surrender during the reign of Jahangir in 1621.

In March 1615, Jahangir commissioned Murtaza Khan, governor of Panjab, with Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu, as second in command, to reduce Kangra. Suraj Mal naturally disliked the extension and consolidation of Mughal influence so close to his patrimony. He thwarted his chief and probably intrigued with the enemy. Murtaza Khan complained to the emperor.

Suraj Mal sought the intercession of Prince Khurram. In obedience to imperial summons, he presented himself at the court in March 1616 but convinced the prince of his innocence.

In October next, he accompanied the prince on the celebrated

Deccan expedition and ingratiated himself fully into the favour and confidence of his patron. On the death of Murtaza Khan, he was appointed by the dominant junta against Jahangir's own better judgment, to command the Kangra expedition. He promised to reduce the fort within a year but, as soon as he reached the theatre of war, he fell out with his associate in command, Taqi; procured his recall at the hands of Shahjahan, now entrusted with the supreme charge of the Kangra affair; disbanded the forces; broke into revolt; allied himself with the hill chiefs; plundered the imperial territory; and defeated Saiyyid Safi Barha. But Raja Bikramajit, who had been sent to replace Taqi, soon stopped his aggressive career. Suraj Mal's jagir was ravaged and taken possession of by the imperialists. He himself was driven to seek shelter in the hill forts which were stormed in quick succession by Bikramajit. In the course of the operations, an imperial detachment advancing too far in the difficult vales, was massacred.

The Mughal forces, however, had an advantage. Suraj Mal now broken-hearted, fell a prey to a fatal disease. His host, the Raja of Chamba, surrendered unconditionally, gave up the whole of Raja Suraj Mal's property including fourteen elephants and two hundred horses, all of which were escheated to the state.

The fort and the other buildings erected by Raja Basu and Suraj Mal were razed to the ground. Jagat Singh, the brother of the late chief, was installed on the masnad with the rank of 1,000 zat and 500 sawar on the understanding that he would cooperate with Raja Bikramajit against Kangra.

The siege was now pressed with full vigour. A complete blockade was established. Batteries were erected all round. Starvation set in. For weeks together, the besieged subsisted on boiled dry grass. No relief was possible from any quarter. Death stared the garrison in the face.

After a long siege of fourteen months, the inmates at last surrendered on 16 November, 1620. The vast treasures collected in the fort fell into the hands of the imperialists. Jahangir was delighted at a victory which no Muslim sovereign of India, not even Akbar, had been able to achieve. A year later, he visited the fort in the company of the Chief Qazi, Mir Adil, and a number of orthodox Muslim divines, and performed one of the few intolerant

acts of his reign by ordering a bullock to be slaughtered and a mosque to be erected within the fort.

Thus we find that since the establishment of the Ghazni rule in Panjab, there is hardly any reference of major loot and plunder, except that of Nagarkot, which on account of its being a mountainous region, was not a part of Muslim rule but was often a victim of their inroads and expeditions.

KINNAUR, LAHAUL AND SPITI

The Ranas and Thakurs of Lahaul were under the suzerainty of Ladakh in early times, but they came under Chamba and Kulu in the eleventh century. Several Thakurs of Kulu held the left bank of the Beas river, which formed the border of Kulu with Spiti. The story of how this border was kept inviolate by a whole succession of Thakurs belongs more to the realm of legend than to that of history.

Bushahr

Bushahr, one of the oldest of hill states in the Western Himalayas, had its capital originally at Kamru (Mone, in Kinnauri dialect) in the Baspa valley. The upper regions of Kinnaur, later a part of Bushahr, belonged to the imperial state system of Tibet until that system eventually broke up early in the tenth century. Subsequently, these regions passed into the hands of Kyide N. Yimagon (A. D. 930) who set up a separate kingdom in Western Tibet, comprising Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti.

In the seventeenth century, Sengge Nangyal (1590-1640) of Ladakh conquered them. Upper Kinnaur too remained a part of Ladakh until 1681-83, when as the result of a war between Tibet and Ladakh it again changed hands, Deleg Nangyal (1675-1705) of Ladakh, who married a daughter of the Mongol Tibetan general, Galden Tsewang, got Spiti in dowry.

Raja Kehri Singh

The seventeenth century saw the rise of Raja Kehri Singh of Kamru-Bushahr, who annexed the southern principalities of Kangarala and Sari and established his supremacy over Delath, Kumharsain and Kotgarh and became the most powerful chief in that area. His exploits in Mandi, Suket, Sirmur and Garhwal earned him the admiration of Emperor Aurangzeb, who conferred

on him the title of Chhatrapati. He sided with Tibet in its war against Ladakh in 1681-83. Tibet rewarded him for his help by giving him all of Upper Kinnaur, which it had seized from Ladakh in the war. It also signed a commercial treaty conferring on traders from Bushahr the right of free trade and movement in Tibet.

Mughal Impact on Himachal Rulers

During most of the Mughal period, as under the Sultanate of Delhi, the hill states of Himachal Pradesh maintained their independence. This was mainly due to their isolated position and the inaccessible character of the Pradesh.

Occasionally a chief, on his accession, acknowledged the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor by the payment of the fee of investiture, which entitled to receive a Khilat (dress of honour) from the imperial court. A yearly tribute called nazrana or peshkash had also to be paid to the Mughal Emperor. To ensure their fidelity, the hill chiefs had to keep as hostage at the Mughal court, a prince or a near relative, a practice which was started by Akbar.

Throughout the period of Mughal supremacy, the hill chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even generous treatment at the hands of the imperial authority. They were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities and were allowed to govern like independent sovereigns.

Mughal rule, however, did leave some impact on the hill chiefs. The Islamic influence on the hill chiefs is reflected in their dress, for example, in Qaba (a long coat coming down to the knees a long sleeved shirt and trousers). The dress was practically the same as that of their Mughal counterparts, the only marked difference being that whereas the Muslims tied the strings of their Qaba on the right side, the Hindu chiefs did it on the left. The most remarkable influence of Islam is in the domain of fine arts, particularly in architecture. The Hindu temples of Himachal Pradesh and the palaces of the erstwhile rulers bear ample testimony to Islamic influence.

Besides administrative concepts like pargana, tehsil and official titles like tehsildar, khazanchi, siyaha-navis, qanungo, patwari, etc., were adopted by the rulers of the erstwhile states of Himachal Pradesh and continue intact even to this day.

Medieval Towns and Cities

Among the medieval towns and cities of Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, Nagarkot, Kulu, Mandi, Sundernagar, Nurpur, Chamba, Bashohri, Bushahr and Nahan find mention in many medieval records. Most of them were big towns, famous as trading or pilgrimage centres. Often they afforded protection to the fleeing population of the neighbouring plains when invaders like Timur descended upon the countryside. In most cases, the towns in the hills were the capital cities of the ruling dynasties.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LATER MUGHALS AND THE RISE AND FALL OF MAHARAJA SANSAR CHAND

M. S. Ahluwalia

During most of the Mughal period, the hill states of Himachal Pradesh did not form a part of the Mughal empire and practically remained autonomous. The only exception was Kangra, which was often a victim of the Muslim inroads and expeditions. We have already seen how Kangra fell to Mughal arms during the rule of Jahangir and was annexed to the Mughal empire.

After its conquest by Jahangir, the Kangra fort was entrusted to the charge of Nawab Ali Khan. After the death of Nawab Ali Khan, the fort was given to his son Nawab Harmat Ali Khan. During Shahjahan's period Nawab Asad Ullah Khan and Kacha Ali Khan governed Kangra.

Since its conquest by Jahangir, the fort of Kangra continued to be governed by Mughal governors. Aurangzeb was the last of the Mughal rulers who had a genius for command and the governance of a large empire. After his death, within a generation, insurrectionary subjects and rebellious dependents had their way and established separate states. The political situation deteriorated from within because of the activities of the Marathas, the Afghans and the Jats, and from the outside the Persian conquerors Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah dealt severe blows. The situation favoured the Sikhs in the plains and the Katoch rulers in the hills who secured their independence.

Katoch Rulers Reassert Independence

The Katoch rulers of Kangra took full advantage of the decaying Mughal empire. Gradually, Kangra regained its independent status under Maharaja Sansar Chand, who was a contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and ruled for nearly half a century. He gave the ablest administration ever known to the hilly areas at a time when the Gurkhas, Sikhs and Rajputs were trying to establish their empires.

During Aurangzeb's rule, Chandra Bhan, the contemporary Katoch chief, rebelled. But he was imprisoned by the imperial

governor. Chandra Bhan's attempts to regain his ancestral territory were thus nullified by Aurangzeb's governor.

Long after Aurangzeb's death, Muslim governors continued to administer Kangra, the last being Nawab Saif Ali Khan. He was appointed governor in A. D. 1743. After his death Zulfiqar Ali Khan controlled the affairs of Kangra, but he was no match for Sansar Chand.

After the death of Aurangzeb, during the period of his weak successors in the eighteenth century, the Mughal hold over the hilly areas was practically broken and the hill chief reasserted their independence. In Kangra, too, Katoch Ghamand Chand rebelled and occupied his ancestral kingdom. It was the political situation which considerably helped Ghamand Chand in extending his hold over Kangra and other adjoining territories. He thus paved the way for his illustrious grandson, Sansar Chand.

By the year 1752, Panjab, along with other adjoining hill states, had been occupied by Ahmad Shah Durrani. During the same period the Sikhs raised their standard of rebellion in Panjab and gradually increased their power by resorting to guerilla warfare and became the masters of Lahore, the capital of Panjab, by the middle of the eighteenth century. During the same period they formed themselves into confederacies called misals. These misals (twelve in number) divided among themselves the greater portion of Panjab until all fell before Ranjit Singh.

Kangra under Ghamand Chand

During this period Raja Ghamand Chand occupied Kangra and began to extend his influence in the neighbouring territories like Guler, Jaswan, Siwan and Datarpur. Half of the principality of Kotlabar was also annexed by Ghamand Chand to his empire. Apart from these territories, he also invaded Kulu and annexed some of its parts. These acquisitions established the domination and fame of Ghamand Chand in the hilly region. During his last invasion, Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed Ghamand Chand as the deputy governor of Jullundur and the adjoining hilly areas already under his possession. Taking full advantage of his position, Ghamand Chand extended full control over Jullundur and other hilly principalities like Chamba, Nurpur, Guler, Datarpur, Jaswan, Siwan, Kangra, Kotlabar, Mandi, Suket and Kulu.

During the first year of Ghamand Chand's appointment as deputy governor over these territories, the ruler of Chamba died and his minor son Raj Singh succeeded to the throne. Ghamand Chand, in a bid to take advantage of the weakness of Chamba, besieged the fortress. The Chamba forces fled towards Jammu. However, soon after this event, the Jammu queen, with the assistance of Ranjit Dev, occupied the Chamba state.

After having acquired the whole territory around Kangra, Ghamand Chand made efforts to regain possession of the Kangra fort from the Mughal governor, but was unsuccessful. It was then the possession of the Mughal governor Nawab Sharif Ali Khan. It was only after the Mughal Qiladar's death that Sansar Chand could obtain possession of the Kangra fort.

Ghamand Chand and Sikh Misals

The expansionist activities of Raja Ghamand Chand were curbed for some time due to the rise of Ramgarhia misal's chief, Jassa Singh, in 1770. Jassa Singh made Ahmad Shah's nominal deputy Ghamand Chand Katoch and other hill chieftains his tributaries. He was at last beaten by Jai Singh, the chief of the Kanahiya misal. At this time, 1774, the Muslim governor of Kangra died. He had contrived to maintain himself in independence or in reserved subjection to Delhi or Kabul, although the rising chief of Katoch had long desired to possess so famous a stronghold. Jai Singh Kanahiya was prevailed upon to assist him, and the place fell; but the Sikh chief chose to keep it for himself, and the possession of the imperial fort aided him in his usurpation of Jassa Singh's authority over the surrounding rajas and thakurs.

Ghamand Chand died in 1773. He had, through treachery, blood and diplomacy, paved the way for the future independence of Kangra under Sansar Chand, his grandson. Ghamand Chand was a popular chief. He conquered many adjoining territories and built some new forts like Reh (near Sujanpur) and Pathiar. Apart from these, he laid the foundation of Tihra and Sujanpur forts, which were later on completed by Sansar Chand.

Ghamand Chand was succeeded by his son Tirth Chand, but he could rule only for a few months and nothing significant happened during his reign. During the very first year of his rule, he died, leaving behind his three minor sons. Sansar Chand, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the throne.

It appears that the Kangra fort was still in the possession of

the Mughal representatives, the last of which was Nawab Saif Ali Khan, who died in 1774. It therefore seems likely that Sansar Chand was encouraged to obtain possession of the Kangra fort only after the Nawab's death.

Rise of Maharaja Sansar Chand

It has earlier been stated that Ghamand Chand paved the way for the rise and future success of Sansar Chand Katoch. Sansar Chand was born in 1765 in Bijapur fort. The whole period of Sansar Chand can be conveniently divided into four parts, namely 1774 to 1786 ; 1786-1806 ; 1806-1810 and 1810 to 1813.

The first period begins with the fight for the possession of the Kangra fort wherein Sansar Chand was obliged to take outside assistance. During the same period he had also to deal with Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, whom he did not trust for some of his expansionist designs. The mutual distrust resulted in a fight between Sansar Chand and Jassa Singh.

The second period in Sansar Chand's career from 1786 to 1806 is marked by the annexation of the Kangra fort and his hold over the area extending from the Jamuna to the Ravi, thus making all the hill chieftains of the region his tributaries. During this period of twenty years, he administered his territories without any external influence and as such this period may be regarded as the climax of Sansar Chand's career.

The third phase of Sansar Chand's career saw him engaged in a conflict with the hill chieftains under the leadership of the Gurkha commander Amar Singh Thappa. This period saw the long siege of the Kangra fort and the ultimate defeat of Sansar Chand. During the same period Sansar Chand asked for Maharaja Ranjit Singh's assistance in meeting the invading Gurkha forces. In the last phase of his career, Sansar Chand was associated with the court of Ranjit Singh.

Sikh Misals' Interference in Kangra Affairs

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century Panjab and its adjoining hills formed part of the Mughal empire. Soon, however, after the death of Muhammad Shah, the empire fell speedily into dissolution. Nadir Shah invaded the country and the Marathas rose against the existing dynasty in the hope of restoring Hindu pre-eminence. The desperate state of poverty to which a series of exactions on the part of the government had reduced the Sikh landowners induced them to rise and become plunderers on a large

scale. They commenced marauding in large organized bodies under different chiefs. In course of time, the government neglecting to take precautionary measures, these united associations, called misals, attained a dangerous degree of prosperity and ultimately formed a general confederation for their defence.

Meanwhile the repeated invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali enabled the Sikh associations to revive and acquire fresh strength by lending their military services, as association arose, to one party or the other and they soon assumed an independent attitude of importance. When Ahmad Shah had dispersed the Marathas and returned to Kabul in 1761, leaving a governor with a very weak force at Lahore, the Sikhs had become the occupants of strongholds in different parts of Panjab and added greatly to their power and resources.

There were many chiefs like Churut Singh, Maha Singh, Jassa Singh, Jai Singh, etc., who had profited from the anarchy of twenty years. During the period of this anarchy, Jai Singh of the Kanahiya misal retained paramount influence. He expelled Jassa Singh Ramgarhia towards Hissar to live by plunder and assisted Sansar Chand in obtaining possession of the Kangra fort which the Katoch chief had long desired.

Sansar Chand and the Kanahiya Misal

The Katoch chief of Kangra had made several attempts to annex the prestigious fort during the period it was held by Nawab Saif Ali Khan, who was only a nominal deputy of the declining Mughals. The Nawab had devised to remain in subjection to the Delhi throne and his possessions were coveted by the aspiring chief Sansar Chand. The latter made several attempts to obtain possession of the stronghold, but was always repulsed.

Having heard of the daring exploits of Jai Singh, the chief of the Kanahiya misal, and of his undaunted courage, Sansar Chand prevailed upon Jai Singh to assist him in subduing the fort of Kangra. Jai Singh marched to Kangra at the head of a numerous army. By this time, the Muslim governor had died (1774), and there were no difficulties in the way of the invaders. Jai Singh bribed Jiwan Khan, son of the deceased Nawab, to vacate the fort and allow the Sikh forces to enter it.

The fort was thus easily conquered, but Jai Singh kept the prize for himself, much to the disappointment of the Katoch chief, who conscious of his own inferiority, saw no alternative but to

submit. Being thus strengthened by his new and valuable acquisition of the Kangra fort, Jai Singh usurped the possession of the surrounding Rajas and Thakurs who submitted and paid tribute to Jassa Singh Ramgarhia.

Sansar Chand's Role in Kanahiya-Sukarchakia Feud

During the same period the Kanahiya and Sukarchakia misals were busy in mutual fights, whereas Sansar Chand obtained nearby territories from Hajipur to Mukerian and even made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the Atalgarh fort, then in possession of a Kanahiya chief.

The struggle between Sansar Chand and the Kanahiya chief continued for about three years. Ultimately, both the Kanahiyas and the Sukarchakias settled their quarrel through a matrimonial alliance. Jai Singh's son Gurbux Singh's daughter, Mehtab Kaur, was married to Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh. The marriage took place with the assistance of Sansar Chand, the latter consequently, laid his claim over the Kangra fort.

Consequent upon Sansar Chand's claim over the Kangra fort, it was decided that the fort may be handed over to Sansar Chand whereas the war equipments inside the fort should go to the Kanahiya chief. It was further resolved that in case of a conflict between the Ramgarhia and the Sukarchakia misals, the Katoch chief would assist the Kanahiya chiefs. Thus after the lapse of more than two centuries the Kangra fort came into the possession of the Katoch family. Haripur and Nadaun, however, continued to be in the possession of the Sikhs.

It may be recalled here that during the period when Jai Singh Kanahiya held control over Kangra fort, the following other hill chiefs were his feudatories : Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, Raja Prakash Chand of Guler, Raja Jagrup Chand of Jaswan, and Raja Narain Singh of Siwan.

The final takeover of the Kangra fort by Sansar Chand was made possible only in 1781. Till that period it remained under Kanahiya chief Jai Singh and passed on to Sansar Chand only after the treaty of Jwala Mukhi.

Expansionist Activities of Sansar Chand

Soon after the formal possession of the Kangra fort, Sansar Chand embarked upon a career of expansion in the adjoining hilly principalities. The first battle was fought with Raja Raj Singh of Chamba over the possession of Rohlu, which had been earlier

controlled by the Mughal Qiladars of Kangra fort. The Chamba chief entered into an alliance with the Raja of Nurpur, whereas Sansar Chand was assisted by the chief of Guler. A surprise attack by Sansar Chand routed the forces of Raj Singh, who was killed on the battlefield. As a consequence of this battle the Rohlu territory passed on to the Katoch chief. The Rohlu fort, however, remained under the control of the Chamba forces.

Mandi, Suket, Kotlabar, and others

Soon after the Rohlu battle, Sansar Chand annexed Kotlabar and Suket. Vikram Singh, chief of Suket, remained a tributary to the Katoch chief. By 1792, Mandi, too, was annexed from Ishwar Sain, a minor prince who had succeeded to the Mandi throne in 1779 after the death of his father. The Suket and Kulu forces aided the Kangra forces in this annexation. Ishwar Sain paid an annual tribute of one lakh rupees. He continued to pay this tribute for more than a decade. Many other principalities like Jaswan, Guler, Siwan and Datarpur, too, acknowledged the overlordship of the Katoch chief.

Bilaspur

Bilaspur met the fate of Mandi. In 1778 the Mandi chief Devi Chand died, leaving a minor son, Maha Chand, to succeed. Sansar Chand took advantage of the situation and annexed Bilaspur with the assistance of Raja of Nalagarh and the Sodhis of Anandpur. Maha Chand attempted to assert his independence and obtain possession of the lost principality with the aid of Dharam Chand, the chief of Sirmur. The Mandi chief was, however, defeated whereas his associate Dharam Chand was slain in the battle. Bilaspur was thus finally annexed to the Katoch kingdom of Kangra.

Thus by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Sansar Chand was at the height of his power. He had defeated the Chamba, Bilaspur and Sirmur chiefs, befriended Kotla, Nalagarh, Nurpur and Suket principalities, annexed Kulu and Mandi and obtained tribute from Jaswan, Siwan and Datarpur.

Sansar Chand and the Gurkhas and the Sikhs

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Katoch chief had become too ambitious and imitating his contemporary Ranjit Singh, he brought many hill chieftains under his subjection.

In 1803, Sansar Chand, in prosecution of his plans of aggrandisement, made two attempts to occupy portions of the fertile Doab of Jullundur, but he was repulsed by Ranjit Singh and his confederates. In 1804 Sansar Chand again invaded the plains and was successful in capturing Hoshiarpur and Bajwara, but Ranjit Singh's approach once again compelled him to retreat. Unaccustomed to the use of firearms, Sansar Chand's forces had failed to defend his acquisitions in the south against the troops of Lahore.

The Gurkhas

Soon after this Sansar Chand became involved with the Gurkhas, a new people in search of an empire which would comprise the whole range of the Himalayas. The Katoch chief now found himself hemmed in between the Gurkhas and the Sikhs and, having already alienated the sympathies of the hill chiefs by his aggression, found himself between the devil and the deep sea.

The ambitions of Sansar Chand brought him into fatal collision with the Gurkhas. That able chief might have given life to a confederacy against the common enemies of all the old mountain principalities who were already levying tribute in Garhwal, but Sansar Chand, in his desire for supremacy, had reduced the chief of Kahlur or Bilaspur by resorting to the expedient of seeking the support of the Gurkhas.

Amar Singh Thappa

The Gurkha leader Amar Singh Thappa gladly availed himself of the opportunity and notwithstanding the gallant resistance offered by the young chief of Nalagarh, succeeded in introducing the Gurkha authority between the Sutlej and the Jamuna before 1805.

In 1805 Amar Singh Thappa crossed the Sutlej and laid siege to Kangra with the assistance of other hill chieftains. Meanwhile, Ranjit Singh proceeded via Rahou to pay his devotions to the holy fires of Jwala Mukhi. Intelligence was brought to him there by Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansar Chand of Kangra, of the encroachments of Amar Singh Thappa. The Gurkha commander after subduing and ravaging the mountain districts from the Ganges to the Sutlej, had fallen on Kangra, with the determination to subdue it. He had levied tribute from the hill chief of Garhwal, and reduced the young chief of Nalagarh, who had, however, offered a gallant resistance.

Ranjit Singh

The neighbouring states of Sirmur, Bushahr and Bhagat all fell in succession and the invader laid siege to the Kangra fort. The Katoch chief, therefore, asked for the help of Ranjit Singh against the invading Nepali forces on condition of paying him a large nazrana. The Sikh ruler gladly acceded to the request and on arriving in the neighbourhood of Kangra, was visited by Zorawar Singh, a confidential agent of Thappa. Zorawar Singh, on his master's behalf, offered a nazrana of double the value of that promised by Sansar Chand, on condition that the Maharaja would withdraw his troops.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, declined the offer of the Gurkhas on the ground that he had already given his word to the Katoch chief, though his policy was to expel the strangers (who may disturb the peace of his own kingdom). A pestilence, however, broke out among the Gurkha troops, causing great mortality in their camp, and this necessitated their withdrawal with the utmost speed. On his return from the hills, with the promised nazrana from the hill raja, Ranjit Singh stationed one thousand troops at Nadaun, and instructed Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala to remain at Bijwar with his troops, to watch the future movements of the Gurkhas.

Gurkhas Advance

After an effective check in the east marked by the treaty of Amritsar (April, 1809), Ranjit Singh turned his attention towards Kangra. But the account of his taking of Kangra must be prefaced by a description of the advance of the Gurkha power. The 'Barah', (twelve) and the 'Athara' (eighteen) Thakurais, i.e. the twelve and eighteen lordships that comprised the total number of cis-Sutlej hill states, had fallen into the hands of the Gurkhas.

Once the Gurkhas established themselves in the cis-Sutlej mountain territories and they crossed the river, many of the dissatisfied hill chiefs joined the advancing Gurkhas. The united forces, comprising the Gurkhas and the hill chieftains (who were looking forward to settle their scores with Sansar Chand), defeated Sansar Chand at Mahal Mari in May 1806, and pressed on for Kangra, keeping open their communications with Bilaspur on the river Sutlej.

Jaswant Rao Holkar

Sansar Chand invited Maharaja Ranjit Singh to help him

against the Gurkhas under the command of Amar Singh Thappa. Ranjit Singh, however, wanted the fort of Kangra as his price. Sansar Chand was not prepared for this sacrifice and approached Jaswant Rao Holkar who had come to the Jwala Mukhi temple after his settlement with Lord Lake. Nothing, however, could be settled with Holkar. With his unaided resources, Sansar Chand could not hold out indefinitely. The struggle between the Gurkhas and the Katoch chief has been described as under :

'The memory of the disastrous days which then followed stand out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune is justly or unjustly ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them. Other portions, including the fort of Kangra and the principal strongholds remained in the hands of the Katochs. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversary's resources. The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms, some to Chamba, some to the plains of the Jullundur Doab. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansar Chand's former oppressions made inroads with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued in the fertile valley of Kangra ; not a blade of cultivation was to be seen. Grass grew up in the towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun.

Kangra annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh

At this critical juncture, Sansar Chand again approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the time of his negotiations with Metcalfe in September 1808. Mohkam Chand was sent towards Kangra but demanded as the price of his assistance against the Gorkhas the cession before hand of the fort of Kangra. Sansar Chand agreed to cede the fort after the defeat and expulsion of the Gurkhas and offered his eldest son as a hostage, but this did not satisfy Mohkam Chand or his master.

On the departure of Metcalfe, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was invited by Sansar Chand Katoch, to aid him in resisting the Gurkhas, who were still pressing their long-continued siege of Kangra, and who had effectively dispelled the Rajput prince's dreams of a supremacy extending from the Jamuna to the Jhelum. The stronghold was offered to Ranjit Singh as the price of his assistance but Sansar Chand hoped in the meantime to gain

admittance himself, by showing to the Gurkhas the futility of resisting Ranjit Singh, and by promising to surrender the fort to the Gurkha commander, if allowed to withdraw his family.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh saw through the schemes of Sansar Chand, and he made the son of his ally prisoner, while he dexterously cajoled the Gurkha general Thappa, who proposed a joint campaign against the Rajput mountaineers and to take, or receive, in the meantime, the fort of Kangra, as a part of the Gurkha share of the general spoil.

Conscious of the duplicity of Sansar Chand, Ranjit Singh, who had been campaigning in the hills for two months, and who had spent much money, was furious. He seized Anrudh Chand, son of Sansar Chand who was in attendance, obtained from him an order to be received into the palace, and secured access to the gate where no resistance was offered to his entrance. The Sikhs thus got possession of the palace by suddenly demanding admittance as the expected relief. Sansar Chand was foiled and Amar Singh Thappa retreated across the Sutlej loudly claiming that he had been grossly duped.

The fort of Kangra thus came into Maharaja Ranjit Singh's possession in August 1809. Even before the fall of Kangra, Amar Singh Thappa had begun negotiations with Ranjit Singh. The Sikhs, in alliance with the hill chiefs, cut off his communications. Amar Singh fell back, suffered dreadfully and thought it prudent to retreat farther and farther. He is said to have purchased his retreat by paying Ranjit Singh one lakh rupees and crossed over to the left side of the Sutlej, thus abandoning his conquests on the right side of the river.

Sansar Chand thus sank into the position of an obsequious dependent. The revenue of his territories was valued at six lakhs and he paid Ranjit Singh two lakhs of rupees. He used to keep two disciplined sepoy battalions under the command of a European officer, named Jackson, a deserter from the Company's artillery. He was very sorry over the British policy of non-intervention in the trans-Sutlej country. From British records, it appears that Sansar Chand was anxious to place himself under British protection.

The Gurkhas, on the other hand, being ousted from the Kangra valley, left the Sikhs dominant there. However, the disgrace of his failure before Kangra, rankled in the mind of the

Gurkha commander. Defeated in the east by the Chinese and in the west by the Sikhs, the Gurkhas turned south to find an outlet for their warlike energy. This state of things was responsible for the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814. If the Gurkhas had been successful in the Kangra valley, nothing would have stopped them from extending as far as Kashmir. Their success in the Anglo-Gurkha War of 1814, made the British neighbours of the Sikhs in the hills as well as in the plains.

Ranjit Singh was not then asked to give his assistance, but Sansar Chand was directly called upon by the English representative to attack the Gurkhas and their allies—a hasty requisition which produced a remonstrance from the Maharaja.

Ranjit Singh, thus, taking full advantage of the difficult position of Sansar Chand annexed the fort of Kangra. Sardar Desa Singh was appointed as its Qiladar and Pahar Singh was also left there to assist him. After the annexation of Kangra, Sikh influence became supreme in all the hilly areas.

Ranjit Singh Extends his Influence

Apart from Kangra, many other adjoining hill principalities met the same fate at the hands of the Sikh forces. Ranjit Singh sent his forces in 1811 to exact tribute from the hill chiefs and in this process annexed the Kotla fortress. Two years after this, he imprisoned Raja Bhup Singh of Guler and annexed his territory to his Kingdom.

In the winter of 1815, Ranjit Singh divided his forces into two parts and ordered them to join at Sialkot. The chiefs of Nurpur and Jaswan, however, failed to welcome Ranjit Singh. This infuriated the Sikh chief and he imposed a heavy fine on Jaswan's chief Umed Singh and the latter, being unable to pay the heavy fine, surrendered his principality and accepted a small jagir.

Nurpur's chief Vir Singh also refused to oblige Ranjit Singh and consequently the Sikh forces were despatched to annex the Nurpur fort. The chief quietly slipped away towards Chamba where he was welcomed by the local chief.

Thus by 1815, the chiefs of Nurpur and Jaswan became tributaries of the Lahore kingdom. Three years after this in (1818) Datapur's chief Govind Chander died and his principality was also annexed and the successor was given a jagir for subsistence by Ranjit Singh.

Siwan

Finally came the turn of Siwan. This was attached to Dhian Singh, a minister of Ranjit Singh. Being hard pressed, the Katoch chief of Siwan agreed to give his daughter to Dhian Singh and thus Siwan was spared direct annexation. In 1825, the Sikhs encircled the Kotlabar fortress. The fortress was conquered after a siege of two months. Kotlabar chief was given a jagir of two thousand and fort was annexed to Lahore kingdom. Apart from these many other minor states in the adjoining areas came into Ranjit Singh's possession who now ruled over quite an extensive territory.

Thus one after the other Ranjit Singh conquered Chamba, Mandi, Kulu, Bilaspur, Nurpur, Guler and Jaswan. He recruited troops from these areas for the Khalsa army. All these principalities paid tribute to Ranjit Singh. Although Sansar Chand was authorized to exact tribute from these states as per the treaty of Jwala Mukhi, Ranjit Singh never honoured this treaty. Meanwhile Sansar Chand and Kishan Singh of Suket tried to conquer Mandi but the chief of Mandi was assisted by Ranjit Singh. Kishan Singh was imprisoned and his forces were compelled to retreat. Sansar Chand's protests to Ranjit Singh did not yield any result because of the latter's superior diplomacy.

Maharaja Sansar Chand died in 1824 a frustrated man. His power was once a source of dread to Maharaja Ranjit Singh too. The Maharaja was, at this time at Adinagar, and a demand for 2 lakh rupees was made from his son, Anrudh Chand, as nazrana, on his accession to his father's gaddi. The young chief demurred and Faquir Azizuddin was sent to Nadaun at the head of a regiment of cavalry, to punish him. Anrudh Chand, becoming alarmed, accompanied the Faquir to Jwala Mukhi, where the court then was and one lakh having been paid, the rest was remitted. Ranjit Singh gave his consent to the succession of the son of a chief whose power once surpassed his own, and prince Kharak Singh is stated to have exchanged turbans, in token of brotherhood, with the heir of the tributary Katoch.

Assessment of Sansar Chand's Career

Maharaja Sansar Chand was the only hill chief who earnestly desired to establish a strong and stable Hindu kingdom in Himachal hills at a time when the Sikh misals were governing Panjab. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on the other hand, was bent upon destroying the

states through diplomacy and warfare and he was successful in his aims. Sansar Chand was a man of no less calibre than his counterpart Ranjit Singh. The various hill chiefs, however, miserably failed in their assessment of Maharaja Sansar Chand and did not cooperate with him. History bears testimony to the consequences they faced in their lifetime for aiding the Gurkhas. They realised their blunder only when it was too late and when just after the Gurkha war, Ranjit Singh prevailed upon them, annexing all the big and small states to the Lahore kingdom.

FROM THE ANGLO-GURKHA WAR TO 1914

S. K. Gupta

As we have already noted in the preceding chapters, from early times, the region now called Himachal Pradesh was ruled by a large number of petty rulers who indulged in frequent warfare. The stronger and the larger states tried to absorb or make tributary their smaller neighbours, while the smaller states would assert their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity came their way. These wars, however, did not result in any great political changes, as, on the whole, the hill chiefs were considerate of each other's rights. Being of the same race and faith, and also often related to one another by matrimonial and other close ties, they were content to make each other tributary, or to replace a deposed chief by one of their own kinsmen. It was chiefly with the coming of the Mughals that there started a process of greater loss of independence. The Mughals, instead of isolated incursions, started a systematic intervention into the affairs of the Panjab hill states in order to bring them under their control. However, the political control imposed by the Mughals was of the nature of 'a loose imperial sway'.

'Tribute was levied, state rulers were required to present themselves from time to time at Delhi, offer their sons as hostages and assist in imperial campaigns.' After the liquidation of Mughal authority in Panjab by Persian and Afghan invasions, the Sikhs began to acquire political power. Especially under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1809 and later, a large number of hill states, including a larger part of the strong state of Kangra, came under the Sikhs. The Sikhs held control over the hill states until they were defeated by the British in the Anglo-Sikh wars. How did the Panjab hill chiefs react to British dominance, and how did the English treat the petty hill rulers from 1815 to 1914, will form the subject matter of this chapter. But before any discussion can be initiated, it will be necessary to know the states that existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

According to the classification made by Sir Alexander Cunningham, and adopted with some modifications by J. Hutchinson and

J. Vogel, in the Panjab Himalayas there were three groups of states — Western, Central and Eastern or Kashmir, Dugar and Trigarta as they were known after the most powerful states of the confederation. However, in the present context, we are concerned only with the Eastern or Trigarta group which comprises the states of Kangra and its offshoots : Guler, Siba, Datarpur and Jaswan, Nurpur, Kotla, Shahpur (a Muslim state which was overturned by the Sikhs in 1781) Chamba, Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Kulehr, and Bangahal. But a reference only to the states of the Eastern group will not be sufficient for our purpose. Besides these, there were some other important states which were in existence at the beginning of the nineteenth Century, and now form part of Himachal Pradesh. These were Kahlur or Bilaspur, Hindur, Baghal, Simla hill states, Bushahr and Sirmur. It is the relationship of these states with the imperial power that will constitute the crux of our discussion.

The Anglo-Gurkha War and the Panjab Hill States

The Gurkhas, a hardy, martial and warlike tribe of the western Himalayas conquered Nepal in A. D. 1768. After consolidating and establishing a powerful state possessing considerable military power, the Gurkhas were seized with an ambition for expansion. But to the north of Nepal their ambition was checked by the great Chinese empire, and therefore they advanced towards the south. Before the end of the century, they had overrun and annexed the hill country between the Ghaghara and the Sutlej, and subjugated or expelled the petty hill chiefs who ruled that extensive area which included Kumaon, Garhwal, Sirmur and the Simla hill states. With their expansion towards the south and the possession of the whole of the country which starts the northern frontier of Hindustan, they came into conflict with the British, who had by 1801 occupied the Gorakhpur district which made the territories of the Gurkhas in the Tarai conterminous with the uncertain and ill-defined northern frontier of the British dominion. As the Gurkhas tried to expand further, the border districts became subject to their incessant inroads. 'Sir George Barlow remonstrated without any effect, and in the time of Lord Minto the Gurkhas conquered Butwal, lying north of what is now known as the Basti district, and Sheoraj, farther to the east. These were regained by the English without open hostilities. But the conflicting interests of the Gurkhas and the English made an open appeal to arms inevitable.' The

English decided to expel the Gurkhas from the hill states east to the Sutlej. They called upon the local chiefs to help them in this adventure. As the hill rulers were already fed up with the incessant inroads of the Gurkhas and their policy of laying waste the country which resisted them, they immediately consented to extend all help to the British, who promised them the restoration of their lost territories after the expulsion of the Gurkhas. In the joint military operation that was undertaken under the command of Major General David Ochterlony, the rulers of the Panjab hill states to the east of Sutlej—Bushahr, Hindur, Baghal, Kahlur, Sirmur, Simla hill states and Kulu (though on the other side of Sutlej)—seem to have contributed a great deal. The Bushahr troops were led by Tikkem Dass and Badri Dass, and were reinforced at the beginning of 1815 by a contingent from Kulu which was paying tribute to the Gurkhas and was released of the later by the British. The campaign proved to be completely successful, and General Ochterlony was able to compel the brave Gurkha leader Amar Singh Thappa to sign a treaty at Sagauli on 28 November 1815.

The English, however, did not keep the promise made to the hill rulers. No doubt, the legitimate rulers—Jagat Singh, Ram Saran Singh, Mahan Chand, Mahinder Singh and Fatch Parkash, son of Karam Parkash,—were restored respectively to their states of Baghal, Hindur, Bilaspur, Bushahr and Sirmur which came partly or wholly under the occupation of the Gurkhas either before or after the year 1805. But a complete restoration of territories was not permitted. The British retained possession of some of the important portions the country under the pretext that they were compelled to do so in the interest of the hill chiefs in order to enable them to maintain their guarantee of protection not only against the foreign enemy but to retain these chiefs in their ancient principalities also. As such the British Government modified the original policy and determined to retain all favourable military positions, to whomsoever belonging. It was also declared that all lands, the ruling families of which had become extinct or the right to possession of which was disputed between different parties, would come in British possession. Moreover, many of the hill chiefs were asked to pay huge sums in the shape of gold or coins to meet the expenses of the war. It was after the successful conclusion of the war that the site of Simla was taken from the Raja of Keonthal

in exchange for Rawin and Kotgarh,¹ the territories which were not restored to the ruler of Bushahr. Jansar and Bhawar the two parganas of Sirmur were also not restored to the ruler after the Gurkha War. Thus, we find that the Anglo-Gurkha War no doubt, helped in the restoration of the hill states to their legitimate rulers, but still the hill chiefs continued resenting or complaining against the occupation of some of their territory by the British as is evident from the Political Agent, Sir George Russel Clerk's correspondence in the case of the Raja of Sirmur, Keonthal, etc.

THE PUNJAB HILL STATES AND THE BRITISH BETWEEN 1815 AND 1845

The successful conclusion of the Anglo-Gurkha War did not bring much change in the relationship between the English and the rulers of the Panjab hill states. The relationship between the two remained casual, intermittent, and more in the nature of a neighbourly imperial power than that of a paramount power exercising systematic political sway. Most of the territories and states were yet either under the direct control of the Sikhs or were paying tribute to them. The English had acquired only a few footholds, particularly, in the Simla hill states or the territory east of the Sutlej. The hill chiefs were mostly busy either settling their own internal affairs and conflicts with native rulers or dealing with the Sikhs and their occasionally undesirable and exorbitant demands for tribute or marriage. Marriage proposals from rulers of inferior descent or rank were mostly not accepted by the proud Rajput rulers. We have examples of Anirud Chand and Murut Chand, who quitted their territories but refused to marry their sisters to the son of Raja Dhian Singh, whom they regarded an upstart and inferior in royal descent and rank. The Sikhs arms failed to force them to accept the proposals. Thus, broadly speaking, during the period from 1815 to 1845, the relations of the British with the hill states were centered mainly around the following problems :

1. *Himachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, Kinnaur*, 1971, p. 60. R. K. Kaushal, in his book, *Himachal Pradesh*, Bombay, 1965, p. 92, however, says that it was only the pargana of Rawin that was given to the Raja of Keonthal in exchange of 12 villages i.e., Panjab, Siria, Dharma, Phagli, Dillan, Kiar, Bambloi, Pagawaj, Dhar, Kanlong, Killon and Khilni, while Dhanoti, Kalwan and Dharoj were made over to Patiala in exchange for Kaithu, Baghog, Cheog and Aindri villages.

(i) Conflict or Complaints about the Retention of Territory

After 1815, the English had to deal with conflicts or complaints arising out of the hill territory retained by them after the Anglo-Gurkha War. Dr. Indra Krishen in his published thesis, *An Historical Interpretation of the Correspondence of Sir George Russell Clerk, Political Agent, Ambala and Ludhiana, 1831-43.*, has referred to the requests of the Raja of Sirmur for the restoration of two parganas of Jaunsar and Bawar. Sir George Russell Clerk also failed to understand the motive for retaining them; no British posts were stationed anywhere in those parganas including the Kiadra Valley. He, therefore, recommended the restoration of these parganas in lieu of an annual or fixed tribute. Besides these parganas, the Raja of Sirmur, Fateh Parkash, also laid claim to the territories of Jubbal, Utraj, Ramgarh, Pundar, Morni, Pinjor, Humer and Ganjari. However, his claim to most of these territories was not accepted as Ramgarh was allowed to be occupied by Maldeo and Narain Das; Plundar was annexed to Keonthal, Humer and Ganjari were also ceded to Keonthal; the ilaqa of Morni was restored to Syed Jafar, the representative of a Musalman family which formerly possessed it; and Pinjor was given to the Raja of Patiala. The old relationship between Jubbal and Sirmur seems to have been restored, though the chiefs of both Jubbal and Utraj were given independent status for having exerted themselves against the Gurkhas. In fact, the Thakur of Jubbal himself requested to be placed under the overlordship of Sirmur. Similarly, the English also settled the trouble that arose out of the occupation of Kotgarh. The ruler of Kulu, who took possession of Kotgarh during the Gurkha war, was compelled to quit. Later on, the Britishers annexed the Kotkhai state as a whole in 1828.

(ii) Exchange or Acquisition of Territory

As the English now became interested in the Panjab hill states, they needed territory for different purposes. They acquired some territory for forming the hill station of Simla; exchanged some villages (referred in the preceding pages) with the rulers of Keonthal and Patiala. In 1863-64, Solan was acquired as a rifle practice ground for troops stationed in the hills on a payment of Rs. 500 per annum from the ruler of Bhagat.

(iii) Asylum to Hill Rulers

Another occasion on which the British came into contact with the hill rulers was when the latter fled to British territory

because of fear of the Sikhs or some other reasons. We have examples of rulers like Bir Singh, who refused to compromise his honour and had to leave his state of Nurpur, sought refuge ultimately in British territory at Simla and Sabathu. Similarly, Charhat Singh, when expelled from his principality by Ranjit Singh, sought asylum in British dominions across the Sutlej. Balbir Sen of Mandi, frightened by the forces sent against him by Ranjit Singh, also wrote to Col. Tapp, Political Agent at Sabathu, begging for asylum for himself and his family in British territory.

(iv) Intervention on the Side of Hill Rulers

The Britishers occasionally intervened on the side of the hill rulers, and requested the Sikhs for the grant or restoration of jagir or the withdrawal of forces from the hill states. In 1833, after the death of Anirudh Chand of Kangra (who had fled to the British territory after having refused to marry his sister to the son of Raja Dhian Singh), it was at the request of the British Government, conveyed through Col. Wade at Ludhiana that Ranjit Singh recalled his two sons, Ranbir Chand and Parmud Chand, and granted a jagir of Rs. 50,000 value in Mahal-Moriam. According to R. K. Kaushal, it was on the intervention of the British that the Sikh forces sent by Ranjit Singh under Desa Singh were withdrawn from Bilaspur, and Bilaspur paid tribute to the Sikhs only for the state on the right bank of the Sutlej.

(v) The Problem of Succession and British Intervention

The British also intervened in the internal affairs of some of the hill states either for the purpose of settling their houses in order or for settling a succession. During the reign of Raja Kharak Chand, which is regarded as the worst in the annals of the state of Bilaspur, the English intervened in order to improve the administration, and later on at his death to settle the succession. On the demise of Ajit Singh of Kulu, Erskine, the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, made an inquiry as to the succession of the fief of Shangri. Besides these the English also dealt with the cases of the states of Bhagat and Jubbal, where the principle of escheat was applied. It was later, on the report of Sir George Russel Clerk in 1842, that both the states were restored to the heirs of Mohinder Singh and Puran Chand respectively.

(vi) Secret Communications with the British

At times, the British came into contact with the hill rulers when the latter had some secret communications with them against

the Sikhs. We have examples of Ugar Sen of Suket, Bir Singh of Nurpur and Balbir Sen of Mandi who had been in secret communication with Erskine, the Superintendent of the Hill States.

ANGLO-SIKH WARS AND THE PANJAB HILL STATES

Both the Sikhs and the English feared each other's strength and thus wanted to avoid a direct conflict. Maharaja Ranjit Singh kept friendly relations with the English. But after his death, there started a period of anarchy and confusion; the Khalsa army grew ungovernable and became the virtual dictator of the state. Such a state of affairs led to the long avoided conflict with the English. It was also partially provoked by the latter. As the rulers of the Panjab Hill States were tired of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's policy of annexation and extinction, they sympathised with the English. In fact, some of the hill rulers were looking for an opportunity to regain their lost territories from the Sikhs. As mentioned above, some of them were already in secret communication with the English. In the autumn of 1845 when the Sikhs invaded the British territory by crossing the Sutlej, most of the hill rulers joined on the side of the English. On the one side, they expelled the Sikhs from their territories or the posts they held, and on the other, they lent valuable support to the English in their campaign against the Sikhs. Shamsheer Singh of Guler raised a force from among his retainers and turned the Sikhs out of Haripur fort. Bir Singh of Nurpur rallied his men and laid siege to fort of Nurpur. But he was not fortunate enough to witness the success of his arms. As he was enfeebled by privation and suffering, he died before the walls of the fort. 'The only consolation granted him was that his enemies had been crushed, and that to this extent at least his wrongs had been avenged.' Raja Narain Pal of Kulehr also expelled the Sikhs from Kotwalbah. Ugar Sen of Suket, who was called upon to furnish a contingent, after expelling the Sikhs from his state 'joined with Balbir Sen of Mandi, immediately after the battle of Sobraon, in sending a confidential agent to Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was granted, and the two chiefs, on 21st February, 1846, visited Mr. Erskine at Bilaspur, and tendered their allegiance in person.' Though the ruler of Mandi, Balbir Sen, sent a contingent of 300 men to the Sikh army for the campaign on the Sutlej, his sympathies were with the English. Even before the first Sikh war, he

had been in secret communication with Erskine, Superintendent of the Simla Hill States. During the war, he, along with the Raja of Suket, sent a confidential agent named Sibū Pandit to Erskine, and tendered his allegiance on 21st February, 1846. The rulers of other hill states did not seem to have rendered much active service to the English because of either being busy with their internal problems, or the rulers being minors in certain cases or the states being under the firm control of the Sikhs and they being only nominal rulers lacked the will and the resources.

The hopes of most of the hill rulers were belied after the victory of the English in the first Anglo-Sikh War. They were expecting the same generous treatment which was accorded to the chiefs of the Simla Hill States on the conclusion of the Anglo-Gurkha War. There is no doubt about it that they lent support to the English in the hope that they would all be restored to their dominions. But the English decided otherwise. By the treaty of peace signed at Lahore on 9th March, 1846, the Sikhs ceded to the British 'all territories to the South of the Sutlej, together with the extensive Jullundur Doab, lying between the Sutlej and the Beas. A heavy war indemnity amounting to one and a half crores of rupees was paid by the Lahore Darbar, fifty lacs in cash and the balance by ceding to the British the hill districts between the Beas and the Indus including Kashmir and Hazara. Instead of restoring the ceded territory to the hill chiefs, the English retained the portion between the Sutlej and the Ravi as British territory, and disposed of the rest to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu. With the result that the hill states of Kangra, Guler, Jaswan, Datarpur, Nurpur, Suket, Mandi, Kulu (except the Jagir of Waziri-Rupi to which Thakur Singh was confirmed with sovereign powers) Lahaul and Spiti (though it fell under the territory sold to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, but was exchanged with him for other territory) came under the direct control of the British. In Bilaspur, 'Jagat Chand was confirmed in the possession of the territory on the right bank of Sutlej, which the state held since 1809 on terms of allegiance and tribute to the Sikhs. The British Government waived its claim to the tribute, but required the Raja to abolish transit duties in his country.' Raja Narain Singh of Kulehr 'was awarded a life grant of Rs. 10,000, in addition to the jagir of like value, and this was afterwards confirmed to his heirs in perpetuity, subject to a nazrana of Rs. 1188'. As regards the state of Chamba, there cropped up a different type of problem with the transfer of

territory to the Raja of Jammu. The river Ravi divides the state of Chamba into two parts. Now the question was as to whether the English intended to include the whole state in the transfer, or only the portion to the west of Ravi. Ultimately an agreement was reached by which Gulab Singh acquired taluka Lakhampur in exchange for the cis-Ravi portion, and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawah, for which it held a sanad from Ranjit Singh, on condition that the territory to east of Ravi should be restored, thus preserving the ancient integrity of the state. Had the provisions of the treaty of 16th March been fully carried out, Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu territory. It was saved from this fate by the patriotic zeal and astuteness of Wazir Bhaga, who immediately proceeded to Lahore, laid the matter before Sir Henry Lawrence, and succeeded in securing his sympathy and support, with the result stated above. Bhadrawah thus ceased to be Chamba territory, but the rest of the state was left intact and directly under British control, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000.

But such an arrangement of the ceded territory which deprived the hill rulers of the chance of restoration of their dominions came to them as a bolt from the blue. They all became disaffected. During the second Anglo-Sikh war, they, instead of rendering support to the English, lent a willing ear to the Sikh leaders of the revolt, who in case of success promised the restoration of their possessions. The hill rulers who revolted in 1848 were mainly from Nurpur, Kangra, Jaswan, and Datarpur. But the English dealt with them harshly. A force was sent against the rulers of Kangra, Jaswan and Datarpur under Lord Lawrence, who secured easy surrender of them. All were transported to Almora as political prisoners where they died. However, Ram Singh the Wazir of Nurpur proved to be a difficult person to deal with. He created a lot of trouble, and it was only after great difficulty that he was brought to book. It is said that after being defeated at Dalle Ka Dhar, a rocky ridge of the Siwaliks area, north-east of Shahpur and overhanging the Ravi, he was betrayed for gold by a Brahmin whom he trusted as a friend. He was banished to Singapore where he died. His name is, however, still remembered in these mountains, and his exploits are sung by the hill bards. In spite of the fact that Nurpur state was the first to revolt in 1848, Sir Henry Lawrence, then the Agent to the Governor-General at Lahore, offered a generous jagir of Rs. 20,000 to Jaswant Singh, the minor

son of Bir Singh. It was foolishly declined by his officials, and the offer was later on reduced to Rs. 5,000 by Sir John Lawrence.

It is obvious from the above discussion that the relationship between the English and the Panjab Hill States entered a new phase with the success of the British in the Anglo-Sikh wars. Instead of the Sikhs, it was the English who became now the paramount power. Their contact with the hill rulers was no longer casual and intermittent. Constant supervision was carried out over them through Political Agents and Commissioners. Disputes and conflicts arising out of succession or maladministration were referred to and settled by them.

THE REVOLT OF 1857 AND THE PUNJAB HILL STATES

The revolt of 1857 originated from the political, social, economic, religious and military grievances that had been accumulating for sometime, and needed only a spark which was provided by the mishandling of the greased-cartridge affair. No doubt, the rulers of the Panjab Hill States had some political grievances, but these were different in character, and the fury of disaffection that arose out of the non-restoration of the territories of the hill rulers, had long subsided. The people of the hill states, socially and intellectually, were far less advanced than those of the plains and, therefore, political rights did not matter much with them : economic exploitation was more a phenomenon of the native rulers or jagirdars than that of the English. Though the presence of some Christian missionaries cannot be denied, still religious interference was comparatively negligible by the time the revolt started. In the few cases, where trouble arose in Panjab it was more or less the result of attempts to disarm the sepoys. The rulers of the Panjab states had remained loyal, and rendered valuable service to the English. The hill rulers, with the exception of Bushahr, also remained out of the fray. Some of them even rendered some service to the English. We have information about Raja Hira Singh of Bilaspur who was granted a salute of 11 guns and also a valuable khillat and other gifts in recognition of his services during the great revolt. Sri Singh of Chamba also sent troops to Dalhousie under Mian Autar Singh, and kept a careful watch along the frontier for any rebels who might enter the state territory, many of whom were apprehended and made over to the British authorities. Rana Krishna Singh of Baghal too rendered valuable service

to the British in keeping guard over the road from Simla to Jullundur, where the 3rd, 31st and 33rd Bengal regiments had revolted. He also sent a party to Simla under his brother Mian Jai Singh to assist the English. Both the Rana and his brother were rewarded with a khillat. The title of 'Raja' was conferred upon Rana Krishan Singh. We also know of Rana Govardhan Singh of Dhami who in recognition of services got half the tribute excused from the British.

Though Raja Shamsher Singh of Bushahr acted in a hostile way to the British, yet it cannot be assessed with the material at our disposal how far his sympathies were with the rebels or how far was he inclined to be independent. Undoubtedly he kept back his tribute, offered no aid, treated officials travelling through his territory with discourtesy, and refused ordinary supplies. Lord William Hay, the Deputy Commissioner of Simla and also the Agent for the Hill States, proposed to send a force to Rampur to coerce him but there were no troops available. Consequently nothing was done until after the great revolt, when Lord William Hay recommended that the raja be deposed and the state taken under the direct management of the Superintendent, Simla Hill States. This was, however, not deemed advisable by Sir John Lawrence the then Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, and the raja's behaviour during the great revolt was overlooked.'

As regards the troops stationed at various places in Himachal such as Jutogh, Dagshai, Kasauli and Sabathu, the trouble mainly arose at Jutogh and Kasauli. The Gurkha Regiment known as Nasri Battalion refused to comply with the orders of the Commander-in-chief, General Ason, who was being pressed hard for help by Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Panjab. The soldiers of the Kasauli Guard numbering about 80 also revolted and marched off with a huge sum of government money to join their fellow-soldiers at Jutogh. The rumour that the Gurkhas had started from Jutogh to Simla created panic. Many English women and children became nervous, and some of the English army officers also failed to show the courage expected of them. The Raja of Keonthal seems to have come out to their rescue. He gave the panic-stricken Britishers shelter first in his palace at Simla and later at Junga, not very far off from Simla. But this chaotic and panicky atmosphere soon ended when William Hay, the Deputy Commissioner of Simla and also the Agent for the hill states succeeded in bringing round the Gurkhas somehow,

before Kasauli Guard soldiers could join the sepoys at Jutogh. But the submission of Jutogh soldiers on the promise of being pardoned proved fatal to the interests of the Kasauli rebels. They were not excused, and were treated severely for their offence.

In short, the nature of the great revolt of 1857 in Himachal is, more or less, akin to the revolt in Panjab. Most of the hill rulers remained loyal and helped the cause of the imperial power. The sepoys stationed in Himachal nowhere succeeded in establishing their authority like their counterparts in Avadh and Rohilkhand.

HIMACHAL UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN 1859-1914

Although the great revolt of 1857 did not bring any conspicuous political change in Himachal as in many other parts of India, yet the lessons the English learnt from the revolt led to the beginning of a new era in their relationship with the Indian states. Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, besides confirming the treaties and engagements of the East India Company with the Indian princes, promised to respect the rights, dignity and honour of the native princes, and disclaimed all desire for the extension of British territorial possessions in India through 'encroachment on those of others.' The right of the rulers to adopt heirs was recognized. According to the new policy, a ruler could be punished or even deposed for extreme misgovernment, but his territory could not be annexed. A new department known as the Political Department came into existence, and a greater control began to be exercised over the administration of the states through Residents and Political Agents. How did these measures come to be applied in the case of the Panjab Hill States, and to what changes did they lead, is the real point at issue?

After the Queen's Proclamation and the evolution of a new policy towards the Indian states, there seems to be some change in the treatment meted out to the rulers of the Panjab Hill States. The rebellious attitude of the Raja of Bushahr was overlooked; Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh of Jaswan, was permitted to return from Almora, and was restored in 1877 the jagir held by Raja Ummed Singh. Mian Dev Chand, son of Raja Jagat Chand of Datarpur, was also allowed to return, but his jagir was not restored. The pension of the Raja of Nurpur was doubled in 1861 and in the sanad dated 11th March, 1862, the Chamba chiefs were granted the right of adoption on the failure of direct heirs. Many rulers who had helped the English during the great revolt were

granted valuable khillats, and were given costly gifts, titles and other state honours. When the Delhi Darbar was held in 1877, some of the hill rulers like Raja Sham Singh of Chamba, Raja Bajai Sen of Mandi and Raja Hira Chand of Bilaspur were also invited to grace the occasion, and they took part in the great proclamation Darbar. These rulers were also invited to attend the Coronation Darbar at Delhi in December, 1911. The Political Agents exercised greater control and supervision. The successions as settled and confirmed by them reduced the chances of conflicts and later troubles. Had the succession been not settled by the English, there was all the possibility of trouble in Chamba in 1870 when Gopal Singh ascended the throne. Mian Suchet Singh, the rival claimant continued to press his claim for many years, both in India and in England but always with the same results. Similarly, the question of regency in the case of minor successors would have created great difficulties in the successful functioning of the administration in the hill states, had the English through their Political Agents not exercised their own judgement in the selection of wazirs, regents, etc. The appointment of Superintendents further minimised the possibility of trouble. The principle of deposing the ruler in case of misgovernment or oppressive rule was applied in Himachal only in the case of Rudar Sen of Suket. He succeeded Ugar Sen in 1876 and was deposed in 1879 when his rule had become quite oppressive and created great disaffection.

Under the British Crown, some of the Panjab Hill States, such as Chamba, Mandi, Bilaspur, etc., made remarkable progress in a variety of fields. It was, in fact, the result of the efforts made by officers or Superintendents, appointed by the British government either on the request of the ruler or otherwise. Sri Singh of Chamba when he came of age and took the reins of government into his own hands, found that the administration had become much disorganized during his minority rule, and it would not be possible for him alone to restore order. Therefore, in 1862, he asked the Panjab government for the services of a British officer. Major Blair Reid was appointed Superintendent. In a short time, he effected important and far-reaching reforms. 'All the useless servants and hangerson about the court were dismissed; the troops—chiefly of Purbiahs and Pathans—whose allowances were in arrears, were paid up and discharged; debts of long standing were liquidated, and the State finances placed on a sound footing.' Then, Major Reid devoted his attention to the development of internal

resources, and general development of the state. First of all, he improved upon the communications; a Public Works Department was organized; new roads to Dalhousie (where a sanatorium for the Europeans was opened) via Kolri and Khajiar, respectively were constructed; Dak Bungalows were opened and Khajiar. Besides, Jandrigat, the Raja's Dalhousie residence, was erected in 1870-71. Construction work under Raja Sham Singh continued with equal vigour. Many new buildings were erected; among these may be mentioned a new court-house, post-office, kotwali, hospital and jail. A large part of the main bazar was also rebuilt and the public promenade within the town levelled and extended adding much to its attractions. Besides, many new houses were built by private owners. All this transformed the capital beyond recognition.

Major Reid also paid attention to the development of the postal service, the medical service, education and revenue. In 1863, a post office was opened in the capital and in 1887 the state was brought into direct relations with the imperial postal system. A primary school was opened which was later raised to the middle standard, and efforts were also made to foster education by way of offering scholarships in Chamba and on the plains to students who wanted to prosecute higher studies. In December 1866, a hospital was opened but much progress could not be made on medical side until the reign of Raja Sham Singh. In 1891, he got demolished the hospital buildings erected by Colonel Reid in 1875 and got built the 'Sham Singh Hospital' with accomodation for 40 patients, and fully furnished with all necessary medical and surgical appliances. The Branch Dispensary opened at Tissa in 1881 also served the needs of a good number of patients. The revenue also expanded rapidly. In 1870, it reached Rs. 1,73,000; in the first few years of the reign of Raja Sham Singh, it touched Rs. 2,00,000; and in 1901, it stood at Rs. 4,00,000. This substantial increase was not due to additional taxation, on the contrary many vexations and petty taxes on marriages, traders, etc., were abolished only the town octroi and bridge tolls being retained. It was due chiefly to the security of land tenure afforded by granting of leases, whereby the area under cultivation was immensely increased; and with the opening up of communications, high prices were obtained from traders, who with their mules and bullocks were now able to visit the interior of the state for the purchase of grain and other things. Apart from these measures, departments such as

police, judiciary, forest, etc., were also organized. The state was visited by the Viceroy of India and the Lt. Governors of Panjab on different occasions. They were much impressed by the development it was making under British officers like Majar Reid, R. T. Burney, etc.

Mandi also made some progress under the guidance of English officers and Superintendents, but it was not at par with Chamba. To improve upon the means of communication in the state, Raja Bajai Sen under the supervision of E. W. Purkis, an engineer, got constructed a new road from Mandi to Kulu by the Dulchi pass, 31 miles in length, with suspension bridge over the Uhl river, a tributary of Beas, at a cost of Rs. 40,000, a cartroad from Baijnath to Mandi, and a road from Mandi to Sikandra, 25 miles long. On the death of Wazir Uttam Singh in 1888, when the Raja asked for the services of a British officer, J. J. Maynard was appointed. 'He effected many improvements in the administration. He drew out instructions for the guidance of the courts, the civil and criminal suits were defined and classified, rules for the hearing of appeals and revisions were modified and the period of limitation fixed. He also drew up a careful note regarding *begar* or forced labour, and framed rules regulating and defining the rights of agriculturists in the forests.' In short the administration was put on a right track and it continued to function smoothly except for the troubles created by the earthquake in 1905 and an agrarian agitation in 1909.

The state of Bilaspur also made good progress under Raja Amar Chand (1883-88) and Bajai Chand (1889-1903). In 1886, the old administrative subdivisions of the state were rearranged, and the old names discarded in favour of tahsils and thanas, as in British territory. In 1887, Hindi and English schools were opened, and the forest department was organized while in 1888 a suspension bridge was built across the Sutlej some way above Bilaspur. Raja Bajai Chand tried to administer his dominions on the British model, but as he received no assistance from his officials in carrying out his plans, he became disgusted and made over the administration to Lala Hari Chand, who was appointed Wazir and himself proceeded to Benares. It was Mian Amar Chand and many experienced officers, whose services were secured from the government, who carried out many reforms. 'In a few years all debts were discharged; criminal, civil and revenue courts were established,

a school and hospital were built; a police force was organized and system introduced into every department of the state.'

British officers also contributed to the development of other hill states. In certain cases the rulers, such as Maharaja Sir Jai Chand of Kangra, Bhim Sen of Suket, etc., were educated and trained by the Britishers themselves, and naturally, they proved to be better rulers. During the minority rule of the various rulers of different states, the work of administration was looked after by British officers. Thus, they got an opportunity to introduce their own innovations, which resulted in the improvement of the administration and general development. The territories which were directly administered by the British naturally benefited more from British rule. The English provided better facilities for education, health, communication, etc., in these territories. Simla is an example to cite. It was under the English that it was connected by rail to the plains; many schools were opened; a few hospitals, and sanatoria were set up to cater to the medical needs of the people living in the city.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE PANJAB HILL STATES

During the First World War, almost all the hill chiefs not only remained loyal but also rendered valuable service to the British, both with men and materials. The rulers placed their personal services and the resources of the states at the disposal of the British. The hill states which gave substantial assistance to the English during the Great War were Kangra, Siba, Nurpur, Chamba, Suket, Mandi, and Bilaspur. The services of these rulers were recognised after the war. The rulers of Kangra, Chamba and Suket were honoured with the distinction of Knight of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. The title of Maharaja was conferred upon Raja Jai Singh of Kangra. The services of the ruler of Mandi were recognized by a Kharita from the Viceroy. The Raja of Bilaspur was also honoured.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND THE DEMAND FOR REFORMS IN THE HILL STATES, 1914-1947

Ranbir Sharma

The present-day Himachal Pradesh consists of two types of hill areas. There are areas which were ruled by native princes. The people's struggle in these areas, though influenced by the nationalist movement in British India, cannot be characterized as freedom movement, since its object was never the overthrow or total elimination of their princely rulers. The main object of the Praja Mandal movement was the democratisation of the administration. The princes were part and parcel of Indian society and the subjects in most of the states were, by and large, attached to the princely houses of their respective states. The other hill areas which joined Himachal Pradesh in 1966 had come under direct British administrative control. The people in these areas participated in the struggle for freedom with the specific object of overthrowing alien British rule. Thus in the hill areas there were two types of movements going on simultaneously, that is the Praja Mandal movement and the freedom movement. This distinction, however, does not imply that there was no overlapping in the personnel of these movements. The Praja Mandal workers participated in the various agitations and struggles launched in the British areas and members of the various political organizations in the British areas crossed over to the state territories to help the Praja Mandal workers in their agitations.

In most of the princely states, as in other hill areas, the beginnings of the people's awakening could be discerned in their desire to undertake social and religious reforms. There came to be organized Rajput and Brahman Sabhas, Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj Sabhas, Sewak Sanghs and Sudhar Sammelans, Prem Sabhas and Seva Samitis. These associations undertook to launch campaigns to eradicate such social practices as 'Reet' untouchability, child marriage and encouraged widow re-marriage. However, the meetings of these associations were also utilized for

the discussion of numerous problems of a political nature. In the erstwhile hill states a pernicious system of service land-tenure (Beth) was prevalent. It worked to the disadvantage of 'Bethu' who cultivated the 'Basa' lands. Numerous other means of raising money were devised and resorted to by the princes. These included levies at the time of marriages, deaths, accessions to the throne and other religious ceremonies in the princely houses. As these levies were imposed arbitrarily and collected ruthlessly, the associations began to raise their voices for their abolition. Further more, 'Begar', the practice of rendering services gratis of various types, existed. Describing the lot of 'Begaries', Satya Nand Stokes wrote, 'He is often cursed, sometimes beaten, his interest ignored. The hillman has gradually been relegated to the position of a beast of burden and a helot. Not only are his rights as a free man denied him and his work seriously interfered with, but the relation in which he stands to those who can force him to give them services is demoralising in the extreme....' The fact that the hill people began to look upon Begar and other levies as unjust, something which they had been tolerating for centuries, indicated the growth of political consciousness amongst them. The abolition of such impositions came to be regarded by the people as a sufficient reason for launching agitations against the rulers of the states. It became one of the important causes for the organization of Praja Mandals.

The age-old poverty in the hills compelled many a hillman to go to the plains in search of petty jobs. There, they had to work in humiliating conditions. They felt aggrieved, exploited and oppressed by the plainsmen. This stimulated amongst their fortunate brethren who had gone to the plains for higher education and better jobs to organize themselves to better their lot. Thus there developed a sense of separate identity which ultimately formed the basis of a demand for a separate hill state. Numerous other factors led to the organization of freedom struggles and the Praja Mandal movement in the hill areas.

Many popular uprisings and constitutional agitations organized within princely hill states were directly influenced by the movements and agitations in the adjoining British areas. The Mandi conspiracy in 1914-15 was the result of the influence of some members of 'Ghadr Party' who had returned from America and had been carrying on revolutionary work in Panjab. They

had spread themselves out in Mandi and Suket to win adherents to their cause. Extracts from 'Ghadr-ki-Gunj' were read out by them to influence the people. Mian Jowahir Singh and Rani of Khairgarhi of Mandi came under their influence and helped them financially. Meetings were held in December 1914 and January 1915 and it was decided to murder the Superintendent and Wazeer of Mandi State, to loot the treasury, blow up the Beas bridge, seize the States of Mandi and Suket and join up with Panjab revolutionaries. Except for the Nagchala dacoity, the revolutionaries did not succeed in any of their objectives. They were ultimately arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. During these years secret societies came to be organized in other States as well. But all these were discovered and the authorities took steps to suppress the activities of such societies. Though the conspiracy and other secret societies did not succeed, their activities and deeds became a part of folklore and folksongs and continued to inspire the people to carry on their fight for their rights.

As a result of severe repressive measures, political activities came to be either suspended or had to go underground or had to shift themselves to the adjoining British areas. By the end of the thirties, the 'Himalaya Riasti Praja Mandal' was organized and made responsible for directing the activities of the political and social workers in numerous hill states. To rouse the people it undertook to organize public meetings at different places, publish tracts and pamphlets, collect data about injustices and cruelties perpetrated on the hill people, represent their case before the Political Agent and the Rajas and Ranas through deputations and memoranda. They also began to encourage the people to refuse to pay unjust taxes and not to perform Begar. Simultaneously, Praja Mandals were organized in Chamba, Sirmur, Mandi, Bushahr and other small States. One of the Praja Mandals, i.e., of Dhami decided to test its strength. The Praja Mandal of Dhami passed resolutions asking for the abolition of Begar, the reduction of land revenue by fifty per cent and the grant of civil liberties. The resolutions further requested for the removal of restrictions on the state subjects and establishment of responsible government in Dhami. An ultimatum was sent to the Rana to receive a deputation and concede the demands. The confrontation led to the Dhami firing tragedy, killing two persons and injuring

numerous others. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru did not approve of the methods of the agitators nor condone the un-called for firing by the Rana. Whatever the other results of this tragedy, it cannot be denied that it exposed the deplorable state of affairs not only in Dhamsi but in other hill States too. This tragedy is an important milestone in the struggle for the democratisation of the administration in the hill States and their ultimate integration into one unit.

The other landmarks of the Praja Mandal struggle include the 'BHAI DO, NA PAI' movement, the Pajhota agitation and the movement for responsible government in the State of Chamba. These attracted the attention not only of the all-India leaders and public but also of the British authorities.

The 'BHAI DO, NA PAI' movement was started at the beginning of the Second World War. It was a movement of civil disobedience and boycott. The people were asked neither to make voluntary contributions for the war effort nor to pay land revenue nor supply recruits for the prosecution of war by the British Government. As a result large number of arrests of Praja Mandal workers were made.

In Sirmur there had been unrest for sometime, but it reached a high pitch when the war efforts of the State authorities began with the object of collecting money and foodstuffs. The authorities resorted to heavy fines for petty offences and there were instances where fines and land revenue was collected twice. Numerous repressive measures were adopted to relieve the farmer of his produce at low and fixed rate. To protect the farmers against the high-handedness of the state officials, a 'Kisan Sabha' was organized at Pajhota. It began its protest by starting satyagraha and began a non-cooperation movement. The Raja was requested to visit these areas and listen to the tale of woes of the Kisans. On his refusal to do so a parallel government was established. This open revolt was ruthlessly suppressed by confiscating the properties of some workers, by dynamiting the houses of others and making large-scale arrests. The Pajhota agitation is regarded as an extension of the Quit India movement of 1942.

The Chamba Praja Mandal gave a call for the establishment of popular government and for ending the nepotism and the under-hand means used by the local Diwan to acquire, retain and concentrate all the powers of the State in his own hands. The agita-

tions launched gathered momentum and a number of arrests were made. Gandhiji called upon the people of Chamba to carry on their non-violent agitation and publish unvarnished facts about the state of things there. The *Tribune* wrote editorially : 'There is awakening even in the sleepy hollow of Chamba. Democratic ideas have percolated through the hilly barriers into the state and the people who have readily imbibed them are clamouring for responsible government.'

These Praja Mandals were integrated into the Himalayan Hill State's Regional Council in 1946, which was an affiliate of the All India State's People's Conference. The Regional Council under the enlightened and farsighted leadership of Dr. Y. S. Parmar, and the wise, experienced and dedicated leadership of such stalwarts of the Praja Mandal movement as Sarvashri Padam Dev, Shiva Nand Ramaul, Purna Anand, Satya Dev, Sada Ram Chandel, Daulat Ram etc., took upon itself to fight for the establishment of a separate hill state based on common historical traditions, cultural homogeneity, linguistic unity and geographical continuity. At this stage the hill Princes, for their own reasons, devised a scheme of confederation so as to bring all the hill states into a composite administrative unit. Though the object of setting up of a separate hill state was identical, yet there were differences about the extent of responsible and democratic government for the people and the mode of the affiliation of this hill state with India. Hence, the Regional Council had to establish a Provisional Government of the Himalayan Prant with its headquarters at Simla and with Pandit Shiva Nand Ramaul as the President. It decided to launch a satyagraha to achieve its objective of fully responsible government and complete elimination of the Princes. Suket was chosen as its first target, and under the leadership of Pandit Padam Dev, a non-violent attack on Suket was mounted on 18th February 1948. According to Dr. Parmar, 'Never in the history of any Satyagraha movement had people undertaken a struggle of such magnitude in spite of the lack of means of communication and bad weather.' The satyagraha was a great success. It resulted in the taking over of the Suket State administration by the Government of India and hastened the accession of other hill States to India which were grouped into a Chief Commissioner's province on 15 April 1949 and named as Himachal Pradesh.

The strategic importance of Kangra, Kulu and their subsidiary States had led the British rulers to take them under their direct

administrative control after the Anglo-Sikh War of 1846. A few attempts by some of the rulers of these States to regain their independence failed. The stranglehold of British administration gradually tightened and by an appeal to the martial traditions of hill people the British rulers were able to turn these hills into a fertile recruitment area for their famous Dogra Regiment. The British rulers were very sensitive to any growth of feelings of nationalism in these areas and were extra-vigilant to curb and suppress any national movement. However, all their measures and precautions could not prevent the spread of nationalist feelings, especially after Mahatama Gandhi had taken steps to transform the Indian National Congress into an organization of the masses and had launched his non-violent non-cooperation movement in 1920. A number of hillmen studying and doing odd jobs in Lahore and other cities in the plains came under the influence of Gandhi's call and returned to their native places to organize branches of the Congress. Numerous workers began to be enrolled and Congress committees began to be set up in villages and cities. Conferences were held and processions were taken out. The Conference at Tal in Sujanpur (1927) was memorable. Mela Ram Tair and Master Kundan Lal were sent from Lahore. A large number of local workers like Thakur Hazara Singh, Baba Kanshi Ram, Gopal Singh, Chatur Singh, etc., delivered speeches and took pledges to work for the freedom of their country. The 'Baluchi' police mercilessly beat the people, snatched their Gandhi caps, looted the shops and houses. However, the holding of political conferences was kept up. The conferences were held at many places in district Kangra. Consequently, repression was let loose on a large scale and the police swooped to arrest and hunt out nationalist workers from all parts of Kangra. By 1930, the foundation of the freedom movement had been deeply and firmly laid in Kangra and the participation of people in the civil disobedience was impressive. The contribution made by PAHARI Gandhi Baba Kanshi Ram and Thakur Hazara Singh was noteworthy. They and their co-workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and sent to prisons at Gurdaspur, Lahore, Attock and Multan. Here, it must be mentioned that Thakur Hazara Singh was one of those leaders of Kangra who, as early as 1946, gave a call for the creation of a separate hill state.

The freedom movement in Kangra slackened as a result of severe repression, but it picked up again when the Congress

decided to contest elections to the Legislative Assemblies constituted on the basis of 1935 Act. Thus in 1937 elections the message of the national movement was spread to all parts of district. The Congress won a few seats. Some independents like Pt. Bhagat Ram joined the Congress subsequently. When the Congress ministries resigned after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and the recruitment for the Indian Army was launched on a large scale in Kangra, the workers of the freedom movement dissuaded the people from joining the army. Once again political leaders began to be arrested. The individual satyagraha launched by Mahatama Gandhi was conducted in the district very successfully and a large number of Congress workers offered Satyagraha, were arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The 'Quit India' movement of the Congress also received enthusiastic response from the people of this district and, as in other parts of the country, the British Government undertook extensive measures to crush the movement, arrested anyone who was suspected of having any direct or indirect links with the Congress. At this time a freedom fighter from Lahore, Pt. Amar Nath Sharma, came to Palampur. He had been evading arrest by the police for participation in the freedom movement. On reaching the district, he realised that the climate for any political activity was not favourable. So, a new turn to movement was given by him by opening a large number of educational institutions and Aushadhalayas. By giving a social and educational content to the freedom struggle, he sustained the spirit and served the hill people of this area. In these activities, he was greatly helped by another political worker, Kanahiya Lal Butail, who had gained fame as the large hearted host of national leaders like Jawahar Lal, Indra Gandhi, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Jagjiwan Ram and many leaders of Panjab.

This brief narrative makes it clear that the hill areas which became part of Himachal Pradesh in 1966 made a substantial contribution to the freedom struggle of India.

FROM INDEPENDENCE TO STATES REORGANISATION

Pran Khosla

The Eve of Independence

On the eve of Indian Independence the area that now forms Himachal Pradesh was almost equally divided between British Indian territory and the territory of the Indian States. The latter, besides a few enclaves of Patiala, was again equally divided between the five Panjab Hill States of Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur and Sirmur and the 27 Simla Hill States. Only five of these states were of some size, thirteen were less than 100 square miles, and three less than ten square miles in area. The people were abysmally poor and backward, and literacy was below 5%, as some of the states were too poor to afford even a primary school. Condition in some of the larger states like Mandi and Sirmur, however, were somewhat better. Complete autocracy prevailed in these states. Even Mandi and Sirmur, where some sort of assemblies existed, were under the personal rule of the rajas because the assemblies had no real power. There was, however, one limitation on the power of rulers. It was the control of the Political Department of Government of India. The department controlled the Simla Hill States through a Political Agent and the Panjab Hill States through a Resident. The powers of the agent or the resident were largely undefined and therefore the rulers were not really free even in the internal administration of their states.

During the months before Independence, the Political Department played a very mischievous role. It encouraged the princes not to join either Dominion but to declare their independence as soon as paramountcy lapsed. Some of the rulers, like Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur, even declared their intention to do so in so many words. The Political Department, however, realized that the hill states were far too small to continue to exist independently. An attempt was, therefore, made to group them into a confederation. The plan, however, did not succeed. By the end

of July 1947 the rulers got panicky and there was a stampede for accession to the Indian Dominion. Between 3 and 15 August 1947 all of them signed instruments of accession.

Independence and Integration

Independence brought about a dramatic change in the hill states. With their British protectors gone, the rulers could no longer suppress popular leaders at will nor could they ignore the wishes of the people. The smaller states had no police force at all. The larger states did have what they pompously called 'State Forces'—they had even commanders-in-chief—but even these would be powerless against a popular movement of any strength. The rulers, therefore, made a belated attempt to come to terms with their people. In the months after Independence ruler after ruler declared his intention to introduce 'reforms' or even responsible government within his territory. In one state, Theog, popular ministers actually took over the administration and the ruler became a constitutional head. Later, however, he attempted a *coup d'état*. But such reform did not solve the basic problem which was how to fit these states into the political structure of independent India. They were too small and too poor to exist as independent states and sooner or later would have to merge in the Indian Dominion. But they were too small to be made separate units of the federation. Therefore, either they would have to be merged in Panjab or some sort of a larger union would have to be created by merging them together.

Merger in Panjab seemed to be an easy and a natural solution. Such a merger would create a geographically compact and a fairly large province. The hill states, moreover, had deep political, administrative and economic links with Panjab. The Panjab Government was keen on their merger. But two considerations ruled out this solution of the problem. One was that the princes and the people alike were strongly opposed to merger in Panjab. The people had developed a strong dislike to the Panjabi officials who, in the time of the rajas, had suppressed them, and to Panjabi merchants and traders who had exploited them for centuries. To the princes merger would have meant an end of their power and position. The other reason arose out of conditions in Panjab itself. The partition of the country had completely disrupted its administration and economy and it was faced with the gigantic task of rehabilitating millions of refugees. The hill areas

would require huge resources for their development and Panjab, under the circumstances, was not in a position to provide them. Thus a merger with Panjab was not feasible due to political, administrative and financial reasons.

Left to themselves the rulers would have favoured a States Union of the Saurashtra type. They decided to call a constituent assembly to get the idea endorsed by popular leaders and to frame a constitution for the union. The assembly met at Solan from 26 to 28 January 1948 under the chairmanship of Raja Durga Singh of Baghat (Solan). But the assembly was confined to the Simla Hill States only. The Panjab Hill States did not participate. The assembly decided to constitute a Union of States. It was named as Himachal Pradesh and, on 1 March 1948, the Government of India was informed that the union had already been constituted.

A determined section of the Praja Mandalists, led by Pandit Padam Dev and Dr. Y. S. Parmar, was, from the beginning, against this move of the princes. In a public meeting held at Simla on 25 January 1948, Dr. Y. S. Parmar had made it clear that the proposed union would be acceptable only if power was transferred to the people and if individual states ceased to exist and a consolidated Himalayan province was created by amalgamating them. These demands were not acceptable to the princes and therefore these two leaders were kept out of the assembly. The latter, however, turned the tables on the princes. They rushed to Delhi and apprised Sardar Patel of the real intentions of the princes. The Government of India, therefore, refused to recognize the union and the attempts ended in smoke.

Having frustrated the move of the princes, the Praja Mandalists led by Pandit Padam Dev decided to force the issue against the princes and to compel them to merge with the Indian Dominion. A 'Himalayan Prant Provisional Government' headed by Shiva Nand Ramaul was established for this purpose. Suket was selected as the first target. After giving a 48-hour notice to the ruler, a batch of 1,000 satyagrahis marched into the state on 18 February 1948. The movement received spontaneous and overwhelming support from the state population. Within six days, without firing a shot, three-fourths of the state has been liberated and the satyagrahis had reached within 8 miles of the state capital.

The ruler was left with no option but to sign the merger agreement and to hand over his administration to the Government of India. This historic satyagraha proved to be a turning point in the history of the hill states. Other rulers took their cue from these events and hastened to sign merger agreements. Their states were taken over and, on 15 April 1948, were constituted into the Chief Commissioner's Province of Himachal Pradesh.

Chief Commissioner's Province

Thus it was eight months after the independence of the country that the people of Himachal Pradesh had their first encounter with freedom. The experience was far from happy. The first Chief Commissioner, N. C. Mehta, and Penderel Moon, his deputy, were bureaucrats who paid no heed either to the welfare or to the wishes of the people. Himachal had fallen from the frying-pan into the fire. 'Himachal people have been cheated', bewailed a resolution of the Pradesh Congress only three months after the establishment of the new set-up. Even the advisory council, which was set up soon after (30 September 1948), failed to mend matters. It was a purely advisory body and had no real power. The chief Commissioner systematically ignored and bypassed it. A year and nine months of Mehta-Moon misrule thoroughly disillusioned the people of the Pradesh.

The Constitution

The people continued to bear with this state of affairs in the hope that the constitution which was under preparation would bring them some relief. The Constituent Assembly had appointed a committee to report on the constitution of Chief Commissioner's provinces. The Committee, headed by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, had, in its report, recommended the establishment of legislatures and responsible ministries, though certain powers of supervision and control were to be retained in the hands of the Centre. But while the constitution was being framed the Indian states were in the process of integration and various groupings and regroupings were being tried. In view of this fluid situation the constitution-makers did not take a final decision about the future set-up of the Chief Commissioner's Provinces and left the matter to be decided by the Parliament after a stable pattern had emerged. It was felt that since it was a changing situation, if some clauses were put in the constitution it would be difficult to change them later. As Pandit Nehru observed in the Constituent Assembly, "It is far better to

deal with it in a way which is capable of future change, i. e., by Act of Parliament than by fixed provisions in the Constitution”.

Nehru's fiat, delivered on 1 August 1949, brought little solace to the people of Himachal Pradesh. Its representative in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Y. S. Parmar, made heroic efforts to get the decision reversed. A convention of Part B and Part C states, with Dr. Parmar as secretary, was convened in November 1949. A memorandum, bearing signatures of most of the members of the Constituent Assembly, was presented to Pandit Nehru. Only a few days before the enforcement of the Constitution a deputation consisting of members of the Constituent Assembly representing Chief Commissioner's provinces waited on Sardar Patel. But all these efforts were of no avail and Himachal Pradesh was condemned to endure Chief Commissioner's rule even under the new constitution.

Part C State

With the inauguration of the constitution on 26 January 1950, Himachal Pradesh became a Part C State. There was, however, no immediate change in the pattern of government. The old bureaucratic set-up continued. At its head was the Chief Commissioner. To advise him there was an Advisory Council consisting of three rulers and six representatives of the people all nominated. The Council was merely an advisory body and had no real power. The Chief Commissioner, Mr. E. Penderel Moon, was an Englishman who ruled the Pradesh autocratically from January 1950 to March 1951. Important matters were not brought before the Council at all and decisions were taken by the Chief Commissioner on his own. Even where the Council was consulted, its recommendations were not implemented. The arbitrary exercise of power by the Chief Commissioner and the consequent maladministration in the Pradesh were brought to the notice of Sardar Patel, who, however, failed to take any corrective measure. Congress members of the Advisory Council, therefore, resigned in disgust. An anti-Chief Commissioner day was also observed throughout the Pradesh. In March 1951, Mr. Moon was replaced by an Indian Officer, Shri Bhagwan Sahai.

A mere change of Commissioner, however, could not remedy the defects of the system. A relentless struggle, therefore, was launched for the democratisation of administration. Dr. Y. S. Parmar, along with leaders of other Part C States, waged the battle

inside and outside the Parliament. This led to the passage, in September 1951, of the Government of Part C States Act, which conceded responsible government of a limited character to Himachal Pradesh alongwith some other Part C States. Elections to the 36-members Vidhan Sabha created under the new act were held in November 1951. The Congress won 24 seats and the first popular ministry headed by Dr. Y. S. Parmar was sworn in on 24 March 1952. A little earlier, on 1 March 1952, Chief Commissionership gave way to Lt. Governorship—Major General Himmat Singh ji being the first incumbent of the upgraded office.

From the start the ministry worked under serious handicaps. Under the act of 1951, the Lt. Governor was to preside over the cabinet meetings. This seriously undermined the influence and authority of the Chief Minister. Every bill, moreover, was to be presented to the President for his assent. In financial matters previous approval of the President had to be secured. Every development scheme, therefore, had to be submitted to the Centre for its approval. This caused endless delay. In spite of these handicaps, however, the record of the ministry is not unimpressive. Before the ministry took over the First Five Year Plan had already been launched. It envisaged an outlay of Rs. 5.27 crores. Perhaps the most significant work of the ministry was to reorientate it in order to give top priority to road construction on which alone more than 50% of the total plan outlay was spent. The Pradesh started with only 288 km. of motorable roads and another 298 km, of jeepable roads and tracks. By the end of the first plan the kilometerage had expanded to 717 and 1,843 respectively. Several measures were taken for the socio-economic transformation of the rural masses. The most important was the Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms Act, 1953. It aimed at the abolition of big landed estates, at giving proprietary rights to occupancy tenants and security of tenure to other tenants. Among other measures adopted by this ministry were the introduction of the Community Development Programme (1952) and Panchayat Raj (1953). The expansion of the Cooperative Movement, the consolidation of land holding and the development of horticulture were also aimed at improving the lot of the rural population. Nor were social services neglected. A substantial expansion in education and health services took place during the period. On the political front the ministry won a big success when it was able to convince the Centre of the

incongruity of keeping Bilaspur as a separate Part C State. Bilaspur was merged in Himachal Pradesh on 1 July 1954.

States Reorganisation

While the Pradesh was busy implementing its First Plan, a bigger state in the neighbourhood was planning to wipe out its very existence. Towards the end of 1952 rumours began to be heard that Panjab had demanded the merger of Himachal Pradesh and PEPSU in it and that the Central Cabinet had held preliminary discussions on the proposal. A year later, on 29 December 1953, the Government of India passed a resolution to appoint the States Reorganisation Commission to go into the question of the reorganisation of states. The Commission, with Justice Fazl Ali as its chairman and K. M. Pannikar and H. N. Kunzru as members, presented its report on 30 September 1955. The majority verdict of the S. R. C. recommended Himachal's integration with Panjab though its chairman dissented and recommended its retention as a separate entity. To the people of Himachal the verdict came as a bolt from the blue. 'They knew that what had been done in the last few years would come to naught and a frightful era of dominance from the plains would start in case of merger. Time had come for the start of the grim battle for the retention of the Pradesh as a separate entity on the map of India.' The battle was fought under the leadership of the indomitable Dr. Y.S. Parmar. Ultimately he was able to convince Pandit Nehru of the necessity of a separate Himachal Pradesh. But the Pradesh had to pay a heavy price for this concession: it had to revert to the old pattern of bureaucratic rule. The S. R. C. had been very emphatic on this point. If these areas (Part C States) were not prepared to merge themselves in larger units, it had emphasized, they should be completely under central rule and there should be no division of responsibility in respect of them. 'Democracy in these areas should take the form of people being associated with the administration in an advisory rather than a directive capacity.' But the leaders of Himachal Pradesh were prepared to make the sacrifice. 'No sacrifice is too great to save Himachal Pradesh', said Dr. Y. S. Parmar at the time of laying down the office of Chief Minister on 31 October 1956. The next day, 1 November 1956, Himachal Pradesh became a *Union Territory*.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FROM UNION TERRITORY TO STATEHOOD

Pran Khosla

Union Territory

Himachal Pradesh became a Union Territory on 1 November 1956. With this reduction in its status, Himachal Pradesh reverted to the constitutional position from where it had started in 1948. Its legislature ceased to exist, the Parliament now directly legislated for it. It ceased to have any consolidated fund of its own and its budget was merged in the Union budget. There was, however, one difference : the head of the territory was designated as Lieutenant-Governor, not as Chief Commissioner. The Lieutenant-Governor was Raja Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri—an estate near Allahabad. Dr. Parmar redoubled his efforts for the restoration of democratic rule in the Pradesh. A committee of the Vidhan Sabha had already been formed (in April 1956) 'to negotiate with the Central Government with regard to granting of democratic set-up to Himachal Pradesh'. The committee succeeded in getting clause 239 (relating to the administration of union territories) in the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, altered in such a way as to retain in the hands of the Parliament power to legislate for the government of union territories through an act of Parliament. The original clause in the bill provided for the union territories only an advisory council whereas as a result of this change legislatures and ministries could also be provided if the parliament so chose. In spite of this enabling clause, however, the Parliament did not choose to establish responsible government in union territories. All it did was to establish a sort of dyarchy in which some subjects were transferred to popularly elected Territorial Councils. This was done by passing, towards the end of 1956, the Territorial Councils Act. The Council (Himachal Pradesh) had 41 elected and nominated members. Elections were held in May-June 1957. The Congress won a comfortable majority and its nominee, Thakur Karam Singh, became the Chairman of the Council, which was inaugurated on 15 August 1957.

The regime ushered in by the Territorial Council Act was a queer mixture of the Minto-Morely and Montford reform schemes. The Territorial Council was a body corporate alien to the administration. The elected members had nothing at all to do with the major part of the administration which was under the Lt. Governor and which was run autocratically. The splitting up of the administration into two resulted in dual control and duplication of administrative machinery, involving double expenditure. An impression had been created that legislatures and ministries were too costly to be maintained in small territories. Actually, however, the administration under the new set-up was costlier than that under the ministry because of this duplication. An element of conflict, moreover, was inherent in dual control and there was friction throughout between the Territorial Council and the Administration. 'The Council, moreover, was entrusted with barely administering the twin departments of Education and Public health alongside but a fraction of the Public Works department. Even education and public health, in the upper layers, remained the concern of the Himachal Pradesh Administration. All other departments, including the evergrowing crucial sector of development, were assigned to the untrammelled control of Administration.' Even in the departments transferred to the Territorial Council, the latter was charged with the task of implementation only, the policy-formulation being done by the Administration. Implementation, in its turn, suffered because financial control lay with the Administrator. The whole system, in short, was disorganized, dilatory and wasteful. This had its impact on the Second Five Year Plan which was implemented during this period. In vital sectors like education, agriculture and road-building either the full outlay could not be utilized or physical targets could not be achieved. If, in spite of this, the Pradesh made good progress during the Second Plan period, it was because of the very generous aid received from the Centre. Being a union territory had its advantages too.

In spite of the obvious shortcomings of the scheme, the Congress party decided to give it a fair trial and cooperated with the administration. But opposition parties were not slow to take advantage of the situation. The blame for the deficiencies of the administration was put on the ruling party and it was not easy to rebut such charges because though the ruling party was in reality less than a ruling party yet it could not say that it was not a party to

the administration. As the general elections drew nearer, the Congress got worried about its prospects and renewed its efforts for the restoration of democratic rule. A Negotiating Committee headed by Dr. Parmar was formed in December 1959 to take up the matter with the Congress High Command and the Centre. An official Committee headed by Ashoke K. Sen, then Union Law Minister, was appointed to examine the question of union territories. The committee, which reported in June 1962, recommended the transfer of more subjects to the Territorial Councils and to bring them at par with the Administration. The system of Territorial Councils was, however, to continue. The popular leaders of Himachal Pradesh (as also of Manipur and Tripura where the same system prevailed), were not satisfied with this half-hearted measure and insisted on full-fledged legislative assemblies and responsible executives. The integration of Goa, Daman and Diu, and the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry at about this time strengthened this demand, because the Government of India felt that political sentiments there would not be satisfied with mere Territorial Councils. The emergence of Nagaland, during the same period, as a full-fledged state, was also a factor of some importance. If Nagaland could be made a full-fledged state, the modest demand of larger territories for a mere 'Part C status' could hardly be refused. As a result of all these factors the Government of India decided to go beyond the recommendations of the Ashoke Sen Committee and to restore legislative assemblies and ministries in Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. This was done by the Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 1962 and the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963. Under the latter act, the Territorial Councils elected in 1962 were turned into Vidhan Sabhas. In Himachal a three-man popular ministry, headed by Dr. Parmar, was sworn in on 1 July 1963.

Panjab Reorganisation

The first concern of the popular ministry was the Third Five Year Plan which had already run two of its five-year course. Having been drafted under the rule of the administrator, its priorities were lop-sided and needed re-ordering. The ministry gave top priority to roads which could not make the desired headway in the Second Plan. More attention was given to horticulture and agriculture as well. A new factor of hydel generation was introduced for the first time in the planning—the inauguration of Giri Bata Project in 1966 was the first landmark in this direction.

This work of development, however could not go on unimpeded for long because the question of Panjab reorganisation cropped up in 1965. So long as the strong man of Panjab, Pratap Singh Kairon, remained at the helm of affairs he was able to contain the movement for Panjabi Suba. Far from allowing a partition of Panjab, he was able to maintain constant pressure for the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Panjab. This was in spite of the fact that, since 1958, the people of the hill areas of Panjab had started feeling that their development was being neglected and that it would be better for them to merge with Himachal Pradesh. Leaders of Himachal Pradesh had to strive very hard to ward off Kairon's moves. After Kairon, however, the Panjab Congress was in shambles and the Akalis were able to gather strength. Their new leader Sant Fateh Singh was able to force the issue during Pakistan's invasion of 1965 and a Parliamentary Committee headed by Speaker Hukam Singh was formed (September 1965) to report on the problem. The committee reported in favour of a Panjabi Suba and the demand was conceded in March 1966. A Boundary Commission was appointed in April to adjust the boundaries of the proposed state.

These developments presented Himachal Pradesh a golden opportunity to acquire its proper shape. The inclusion of the hill areas of Kangra, Kulu, Lahaul-Spiti, Nalagarh and Simla in Panjab was due only to accidents of history. In every respect—geographical, cultural and economic—their proper place was in Himachal Pradesh. Himachal had desired their integration with it since long, but the attitude of Maha Panjab elements and the Panjab Congress on the one hand, and the indifference of the people of the Panjab Hills themselves on the other, had stood in the way of the fulfilment of this desire. The situation now changed because the contrast between the pace of development in Himachal Pradesh and in the Panjab hill areas was too marked to go unnoticed by the people of the latter. The Adkalis, moreover, wanted the hill areas to be kept out of the Panjabi Suba because their inclusion would mean an addition of over a million to the Hindu population of the proposed Panjabi Suba and the Sikhs would be reduced to a minority. The Akali stand on Kangra District, however, had changed since the time of the S. R. C. Now they claimed that Kangra was not a hilly area and that it was Panjabi-speaking and therefore it should form a part of the Panjabi Suba. This was a challenge to Himachal Pradesh. There was also a demand in

certain quarters that Himachal should be merged with the proposed Haryana Prant. But Himachal's case was pleaded with force and ability through exhaustive memoranda submitted among others by Chief Minister Dr. Y.S. Parmar and by Satya Vati Dang, President of the Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee. As a result, the Panjab Boundary Commission accepted Himachal's claims and awarded it Kangra and most of the other hill areas of the Panjab. The integration came about on 1 November 1966, more than doubling both the area and the population of Himachal Pradesh.

Towards Statehood

Now that the proper shape of the Pradesh had been achieved, it was natural for it to demand its due status, i.e., full-fledged statehood. But for the time being undivided attention could not be given to the achievement of statehood. Integration had brought many problems in its wake. The services had to be integrated, two different sets of rules, regulations and laws prevailing in the new and old areas had to be reconciled, a unified taxation structure had to be evolved and, most important of all, the pace of development in the merged areas had to be quickened to bring them to the level of the old areas. The development of these areas would require a lot of money, but integration had brought serious financial difficulties. The number of Panjab employees allocated to Himachal Pradesh was much larger than the Pradesh required. It meant an unnecessary burden. Moreover, whereas the size and population of the Pradesh had more than doubled, the plan (Fourth Plan) resources allotted to it were raised only slightly (from 87 to 91 crores). The solution of such problems as these required Herculean efforts on the part of the government, but the efforts it could make were conditioned by its status as a union territory. The higher services were not under the control of the Pradesh government, the Centre exercised strict control over the budget and the rules of business required frequent references to the Centre in many matters. The tardy pace at which things necessarily moved under this set-up exasperated the ministry especially when the general elections were round the corner. The ministry, however, not only managed to keep itself afloat, it was able to put up a creditable performance in the elections (1962). The Congress won not only 37 out of the 60 assembly seats, it captured all the six parliamentary seats as well. This was a much needed shot in the arm, especially when Congress fortunes in many states were low. A broad-based

ministry, with all shades of opinion from the old areas and several members from the new areas, was formed by July 1967. The Pradesh was now ready to embark on yet another round of its offensive for statehood.

The offensive started on 24 January 1968 when the Pradesh Vidhan Sabha unanimously passed a resolution demanding statehood. A negotiating committee headed by Prof. Tapinder Singh was appointed to take up the matter with the Congress High Command and the Centre. The case for statehood was spelt out by Dr. Y. S. Parmar while speaking on the resolution referred to above and by the Negotiating Committee in a memorandum. The main points on which the case was built included the assurance given by Sardar Patel at the time of the formation of the Pradesh and by his successor in the Ministry of States, Gopalaswamy Ayyangar; the enlarged size and population of the Pradesh; the remarkable progress made by it in increasing its resources and in attaining financial viability, and the need for removing administrative and constitutional bottlenecks that stood in the way of rapid development. The Centre, however, preferred to remain unconvinced and did not go beyond a vague assurance that when the Pradesh obtains 'the condition of financial viability, we would not hesitate to give it statehood.'

The outcome of these efforts was not unexpected. The under secretaries of the Home Ministry, who were the real rulers of the union territories and who wielded immense power and patronage there, were in no mood to let these territories slip out of their hands. Dr. Y. S. Parmar, therefore, decided to shift the scene of the battle from the corridors of the Home Ministry to the lobby of the Parliament. In both the houses non-official resolutions on the demand for Himachal Pradesh's statehood received overwhelming support. As a result of this, the Central Government agreed to reconsider the matter and to hold discussions with the Pradesh Chief Minister. The discussions continued through the later part of 1969 and the beginning of 1970. Dr. Parmar apparently succeeded in convincing the Central Government to his point of view by May 1970. By June 1970 the Congress High Command had been won over. On the government side, the exit from the Home Ministry of Y. B. Chavan, a determined opponent of further reorganisation of states, helped matters. On 31 July 1970 the Prime Minister informed Parliament that 'the Government had decided to grant statehood to Himachal Pradesh.' On 18 December the

State of Himachal Pradesh Act was passed and the new state was inaugurated on 25 January 1971.

The Eighteenth State

Himachal's emergence as the eighteenth state of the Indian Union brought to a close a saga of struggle and achievement which had started 23 years earlier with a Suket Satyagraha. If the moving spirit behind this struggle was Dr. Y. S. Parmar, its salient feature was its purity of methods. This feature was widely acclaimed in the national press. In an editorial entitled 'Himachal Comes to Age', the *Tribune*, for instance, wrote : 'The achievement has come to be noted, not through any agitational approach, much less violent technique, but by purely constitutional means and peaceful persuasion. Few other political entities in the country can boast of a matching victory with similar means. As a consequence, Himachal Pradesh starts with a clean record without any unwelcome touch to mar its image or inhibit its progress. There is no tragic legacy of tension or discord which has entailed such heavy cost elsewhere.'

THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH—1947-74

Ranbir Sharma

TOWARDS STATEHOOD (INCLUDING ECONOMIC VIABILITY)

Introductory : Statehood means the status of a State. But one may ask, what is a State? The State, as a concept of Political Science and Public Law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so of external control, and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience. Thus population, territory, Government and sovereignty are four essential elements of a State. The term State, however, is not generally used in this scientific and exact manner. In India, for instance, a territory ruled by a native prince was also called a State, although as a result of treaties with the British Government, such a State had lost its sovereignty. Himachal Pradesh came into being as a result of the merger of such princely States. In the same way the constituent units of a federation are also termed as States, though they lack sovereignty, one of the essential characteristics of a State. The constituent units of the U. S. A., as also India, are described as States by the constitutions adopted by these two countries. But there is a difference. In the U. S. A. all the constituent units were given the same status, irrespective of their territory, population or financial resources. But in the Indian federation its constituent units do not have equality of status. The constitution of India made provision for three distinct types of units—the States specified in A, B and C of the first schedule corresponding to the former Governor's Provinces, the Indian States and the Chief Commissioner's Provinces respectively. Himachal Pradesh, which had been constituted into a Chief Commissioner's Province on 15th April, 1948, was placed in the 'C' category of the States of the Indian Union. The attainment of the Status of 'A' category State in the Indian federation, i.e. Statehood was considered by all Himachalis as their legitimate right and they

strove for it. It was felt to be the natural course of the destiny of their Pradesh.

The integration of the hill States was the result of the confluence of various currents and cross-currents. The British Government and the Princes tried to achieve this objective through a 'Cooperative Grouping Scheme' which ultimately led to an attempt to form a confederation of hill States at Solan in January 1948. The underlying idea of this move might have been to preserve and maintain the princely order and its privileges, yet the fact remains that their basic goal was the same as that of the All India States People's conference, the Praja Mandals and the people, i. e. integration. No doubt the reasons of the people for the integration of the small States were altogether different. They wanted to bring about a larger unit so that it might be able to sustain the democratic administrative set-up which would work for the welfare of the people. In a conference of the workers of the Praja Mandals, held at Simla in January, 1948, Dr. Yaswant Singh Parmar moved a resolution, seconded and supported by Pt. Padam Dev. It deserves to be quoted in full, because it clearly brings out the goal of the hill people. It reads as under :

"This conference is of the opinion that (a) since the Panjab Hill States cannot maintain modern and progressive standards of administration and have failed to keep pace with the progressive forces of Independent India, these States should be absorbed into the Indian Union. This conference, therefore, requests the Ministry of States to amalgamate these States with the Indian Union without any loss of time (b) in view of the geographical contiguity and cultural and linguistic affinity of the people of these hills and their educational and economic backwardsness, a measure of autonomy be granted to them within the union to enable them to come up to the standards of their neighbours (c) in view of the declared policy of the Congress that territorial areas of Provinces should be re-constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis this conference requests the Indian Union to reconstitute on a linguistic and cultural basis, as soon as possible, a Himalayan Province comprising the territories between Almora to Chamba and Kalka to Tibet."

The Government of India, too welcomed the idea of integration and as a result of the efforts of all concerned, a Chief Commissioner's Province of Himachal Pradesh came into being in April, 1948. A Chief Commissioner's Province meant neither any

autonomy nor any democratic institutions. No doubt the promise made by Sardar Patel that the ultimate object was to enable this area to attain the position of an autonomous province with a constitution similar to that of any other province of the Indian federation was a source of inspiration, yet the people did not have any sense of fulfilment. The struggle for the integration of the "left out" hill areas and the achievement of a right status for the Pradesh had to be continued.

The Republican Constitution of India came into force on January 26, 1950. With it, the struggle for democratic government in Himachal Pradesh was intensified. The Government of India, in deference to the wishes of people enacted the Government of Part C States Act, 1951, and raised the status of the Pradesh, inasmuch as the act provided for a popular Government and in place of a Chief Commissioner, the executive head of the State was designated as Lieutenant Governor. Dr. Y. S. Parmar, then a member of Parliament, truly voiced the feelings of the Himachali people while speaking on 'C' State bill, when he said, "I wish ... this distinction between the various States had been eliminated." Before we proceed further let us take into account the distinctions between 'A' category States and 'C' category States.

I. Executive

(a) The head of a 'C' State was a Lieutenant-Governor and that of an 'A' State a Governor.

(b) In the case of a 'C' State, the appointing authority for the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers was the President of India, in 'A' State it was the Governor.

(c) A Lieutenant-Governor presided over the meetings of the Council of Ministers when he was present, but a Governor had no such power to participate in the meetings of Council of Ministers.

(d) In case of difference of opinion between the Lieutenant Governor and his Ministers on any matter, the Lieutenant-Governor could refer it to the President for a decision and could act according to the decision given thereon by the President. The Governor had no such powers.

(e) Article 40 of the Government of Part C States Act placed the Lieutenant-Governor and his Council of Ministers under the general control of the President and they were required to comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be

given by him. For an 'A' State no powers of a general control were vested in the President.

It is obvious that the executive authority of a 'C' State was less than that of an 'A' State. A 'C' State had to function under a very strict control of the Government of India while an 'A' State was autonomous and the Governor, in normal conditions, functioned as a constitutional head rather than as an agent of the Government of India.

II. Legislative

(a) Parliament had the authority to make laws for 'C' States even on matters included in the State List. An 'A' State had the exclusive power to make laws on subjects in the State List.

(b) The Lieutenant-Governor had the right to speak in and otherwise take part in the proceedings of Legislative Assembly, no such right is given to the Governor.

(c) A Bill passed by an 'A' State needed only the assent of the Governor to become law, but in the case of a 'C' State a bill passed by its legislative Assembly required the assent of the President of India.

III. Financial

(a) In financial matters the extent of power of the Legislative Assembly in a part 'C' State was much less as compared to the Legislative Assembly in a part 'A' State. The previous sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor to introduce certain legislative and financial bills was required.

(b) Even in respect of sharing the income from the various taxes a 'C' Class State was treated differently from an 'A' Class State.

IV. Judicial

The highest court in a 'C' Class State was the court of the judicial Commissioner unlike a High Court in a part 'A' State.

All such provisions not only curtailed the autonomy of Himachal Pradesh, but also reduced its status. Numerous curbs and checks in the executive, legislative, financial and administrative spheres tended to slow the pace of its economic and administrative modernization. Hence the constant demand for the grant of statehood.

The States Reorganisation Commission was expected by the

Himachalis to recommend the merger of additional hill areas with Himachal Pradesh on the basis of cultural and linguistic affinity and geographical contiguity, but contrary to their expectations the Commission, by a majority, recommended the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. In order to survive as a separate entity, Himachal had to suffer the lowering of its status from a part 'C' state to a Union Territory, losing its popular government in the bargain. The onward march to the goal of statehood suffered a severe setback. The only thought which weighted heavily with Himachalis was somehow to maintain the separate entity of Himachal and to work for the restoration of popular government. This two-fold aim was achieved in July, 1963, when a dark period of about seven years in the constitutional history of the Pradesh ended.

Now the people of Himachal Pradesh began to pursue with greater vigour the remaining two goals, that is the integration of 'left out' hill areas and of Statehood. By this time the national leadership was also coming round to the view that small States would better promote real community of outlook and community of interests. It began to be realised, more than ever before, that the administration in a small State will be more accessible to the people. It will have a livelier sense of local needs and better appreciation of local problems. Therefore, it will promote social welfare measures more effectively. However, there were lingering doubts about the viability of Himachal Pradesh. Was the area sufficiently developed in its resources and administration? Was it ripe for the 'Final Stage' as visualized by Sardar Patel so as to be given a "Constitution similar to that of any other province"? But the addition of large chunks of area doubling its population greatly strengthened its case for the grant of full status of a State when, as result of the reorganisation of Panjab on November 1, 1966, the Panjab hill areas of Kangra, Simla, Kulu and Lahaul-Spiti Districts, the Nalagarh area of Ambala District and parts of Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur District and of Pathankot Tehsil of Gurdaspur District were integrated with Himachal Pradesh. Even otherwise, it was an historic event. The new map of Himachal Pradesh contained almost all the area which was rightfully claimed to be part and parcel of Himalayan Prant by the January 1948 resolution, i.e. "the territories between Almora to Chamba and Kalka to Tibet". No doubt a few areas claimed then are even now left out

but who knows what is in store for Himachal Pradesh in the future ?

From now onwards the only political objective which remained unachieved was the right constitutional status and the only obstacle in its way was the so-called viability of Himachal Pradesh. Let us now turn to examine this problem.

Viability :

Viability means the capacity to live or to survive. The viability of a State involves three factors, namely territory, population and financial resources, present as well potential. The separate existence of Himachal Pradesh was opposed on the basis of its too meagre resources. The S. R. C. recommended its merger with Panjab because it was felt by them that even if a larger hill unit was brought into existence, it would not form an administratively viable unit. This conclusion was based, apparently, on wrong notions about viability. The fact is that there are no hard and fast rules governing the definition of viability. Like the standard of living it is dependent on the current notions in a particular age. The pendulum of the concept of viability has been moving from one end to the other. There have been times when only States with vast territory and large population were considered viable and at other times, States with a very small population and territory passed the standard laid down for measuring viability. Thus there are States, small as well as big, sovereign as well as the constituent units of a federation. As far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned, the argument about its non-viability on the basis of population and territory could not hold good, especially after November 1, 1966, when as a result of the integration of hill areas of Panjab, its size became larger than Panjab, Haryana, Kerala and Nagaland, and its population became almost equal to Jammu and Kashmir, and more than that of Nagaland and Haryana, which had already been admitted as full-fledged States of the Indian Union. Misgivings, however, still existed about its economic non-viability and an impression continued that Himachal Pradesh depended solely on doles from the Government of India. This myth of economic non-viability was again ill-founded.

Economic viability means that a State should have such existing financial resources as may be necessary to maintain a reasonable administrative machinery according to its genuine needs

to carry out administrative and welfare activities which are generally expected of a State. It also means that it should have such wealth of natural resources lying untapped, which if exploited and worked, would result in such additional income which may be capable of financing the development scheme of the State. Even if during the developmental period some aid or loan is needed, it must be justifiable by the ultimate results that will flow from the expenditure incurred for the development of the State. Thus, to judge whether a State is economically viable or not would depend upon facts and figures and the shape of things to come.

If the above criteria of economic viability be applied to Himachal Pradesh, there is no doubt that it has been economically viable, at least in the same sense as many other States of India. It has been able to raise its total revenue from a paltry sum of rupees 85.00 lacs in 1948-49 to 2064.69 lacs in 1970-71. It has been able to evolve a modern administrative machinery. It has been able to meet the establishment charges out of its domestic revenues. With its vast hydro-power potential, abundant forest wealth, adequate mineral resources, great opportunities for setting up traditional as well as non-traditional industries, possibilities of making big strides in horticulture, sericulture, sheep breeding, fisheries, etc., the Pradesh has the potentiality of becoming one of the prosperous areas of India. It is clear that the State is not only economically viable, but also possesses the capacity to achieve an enviable position in the years to come.

Besides the above, the integration of the hill areas of Panjab in 1966 created or accentuated administrative, financial and psychological problems and the demand for the grant of the Statehood became urgent and pressing. Firstly, the people of the newly merged areas felt it difficult to give respect and loyalty to a government which had to wait for instructions from an outside authority. They were used to a popular administration where the Minister's orders were carried out at once. They were amazed to see how even the solemn promises made by the Chief Minister could be thrown to the winds. Secondly, the employees, especially those in the higher category, showed scant respect to the Himachal Pradesh Government, since they knew that their administrative control rested in the hands of the Home Ministry of the Government of India. It greatly affected the discipline in the services and the effective and efficient running of the administration became

difficult. Thirdly, various bottlenecks created by the Rules of Business and the method of passing the budget, etc., accentuated the hurdles and delays in administrative and developmental activities. The checks and curbs placed on the Pradesh Government delayed the process of uniformity and rationalisation of laws of the State and the people of the newly-merged areas felt discriminated against. Fourthly, under the Union Territory set-up, it took months and even years to get sanctions and approvals from the Government of India both for legislation and other proposals. It became more and more difficult to run the administration in a vast and mountainous area of 22,000 square miles, stretching from Kalka to Tibet and from Dehra Dun to Kashmir, with officers and ministers shuttling all the time, between Simla and Delhi for consultations, meetings and conferences while the authorities in Delhi were far too busy to adequately tackle the problems created by the integration of new areas. In fact to continue to keep Himachal Pradesh as Union Territory and treat it as a colony was becoming intolerable. It was against the principles of democracy and federalism. The 'Negotiating Committee' for Statehood for Himachal Pradesh, under the chairmanship of Professor Tapinder Singh very ably pleaded the case of Himachal Pradesh before the Government of India. A resolution was moved by Prof. Tapinder Singh on January 24, 1968 in Himachal Vidhan Sabha. The resolution stated : "This House earnestly feels that it is high time for Himachal Pradesh to be recognised as a full-fledged State and to that end, it strongly urges that the central leadership and the union government concede the demand of the Pradesh for Statehood by bringing about the necessary legislation without further loss of time." This resolution was strongly supported by all sections of the Vidhan Sabha and was unanimously passed by it. Dr. Y. S. Parmar, after making out a strong case for the grant of Statehood, wrote : "No Constitutional impediments should be allowed to stand in the way of fulfilment of its insistent destiny, and the grant of Statehood to it now is a must, so that after the achievement of this objective (of its rightful status) Himachal Pradesh can play its part as a satisfied and prosperous State of the Indian Union adding to the prosperity of the nation as a whole." Support for the demand started coming from even such unexpected quarters as the Panjab press, which had never welcomed the emergence of this State of the Hills. In 1969,

the demand for Statehood for Himachal Pradesh came up before both the Houses of Parliament through a non-official resolution. During the discussion, members, irrespective of party affiliation or Pradesh barriers, rose to support the genuine demand of the Himachalis. Ultimately in the 1970 winter session of the Parliament a bill providing Statehood for Himachal Pradesh was introduced. The keenness on the part of the members of the Parliament to pass the bill can be judged from the fact that the Lok Sabha passed it at an extended sitting and the Rajya Sabha by sitting late on the last but one day of its winter session. Himachal Pradesh came of age on 25th January, 1971. The most significant aspect of this remarkable achievement is that it came not through any agitational approach, much less violent technique, but by purely constitutional means and persuasion.

Thus ended one of the glorious chapters in the constitutional history of Himachal Pradesh. And how differently it might have all turned out but for the courage and wisdom of the principal actors. Thus, what constitutes a State is 'Not high raised battlement or laboured mound, thick wall or moated gate, not cities with spires and turrets crowned, nor bays and broad armed ports where rich navies ride, nor starred and spangled courts; but men, high minded men, who their duties know but know their rights too, and knowing dare maintain these constitute a State'. So long as Himachal continues to produce men and women of such a high calibre, one need have no fears for its future.

RESTORATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT : FACTORS LEADING TO IT

A government run and managed by democratically elected representatives of the people is called a popular government. Such a government was set up in Himachal Pradesh according to the provisions of 'The Government of Part C States Act' in 1951. The popular government functioned well and the Pradesh made an all-round progress.

The appointment of the States Re-organisation Commission by the Government of India in December 1953 was looked upon with hope and expectation by the people of this Pradesh. But their hopes were dashed to the ground when the Commission recommended the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Panjab. The people of the Pradesh were not at all prepared to lose their separate entity. A grim struggle for survival began. This struggle was waged with

patience, unity and discipline. The leaders of the people handled the situation with tact and foresight. In order to take many steps forward they prepared the people to take a few steps backwards. What was important was survival and it was believed that if Himachal lived, other things would follow afterwards. Dr. Y. S. Parmar said in 1956, "No sacrifice is too great to save Himachal Pradesh". In view of the strong feelings of Himachalis, the Government of India agreed to maintain the separate identity of the Pradesh. However, the general principle that there should be either States or Union Territories had to be applied. No exception could be made in the case of Himachal Pradesh. As such, the people had no choice but to agree to the status of a Union Territory if they wanted to retain a separate Himachal Pradesh.

The States Re-organisation Act, 1956, converted Himachal Pradesh into a Union Territory. The clock of democracy was put back in Himachal Pradesh and its Legislature and popular Ministry were abolished. Henceforth Parliament became its Legislature. Himachal Pradesh was allotted two seats in the Rajya Sabha and four seats in the Lok Sabha. In order to give some semblance of control over local affairs, the Parliament passed in December 1956, the Territorial Councils Act. According to the provisions of this Act, a Territorial Council on the model of a District Board was set up in Himachal Pradesh, as in other Union Territories like Manipur and Tripura. The Territorial Councils Act introduced a type of government known as Dyarchy. This system was introduced by the British Government in the provinces by the Act of 1919. The nationalists had rejected this system at that time, but somehow it was considered good for the people of Himachal Pradesh in the 1950s.

Meaning of Dyarchy: Dyarchy is a compound of two words, *di* meaning two and *archi* meaning rule. It thus signifies double government or government by two rulers. As a system of administration introduced in Himachal Pradesh by the Territorial Councils Act, it meant the division of sphere of Union Territories government into two separate parts, each administered by different set of individuals appointed in different ways and bearing different relations to the Territorial Council and the Lieutenant-Governor.

The subjects were divided into two parts. One part comprised subjects like education, other than college education, public health and sanitation, hospitals, dispensaries, asylums and poor houses,

construction, repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and buildings, the superintendence and control of panchayats, development of industries, agriculture and cooperatives- These subjects were to be administered by the Chairman of the Council, a whole-time functionary, with the assistance of the Chief Executive Officer, the principal officer in charge of various departments and the Territorial Council. The other group comprised subjects like finance, appointments, judiciary, law and order, and revenue. These subjects were to be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor, designated as the Administrator with the help of the Chief Secretary and Secretaries of the various departments who were not responsible to the Territorial Council. In other words, the Union Territory Executive consisted of two halves :

(i) Lieutenant-Governor or administrator acting with Chairman and (ii) Lieutenant-Governor or Administrator acting with his Secretaries. There was also an Advisory Committee of the Home Minister consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Parliament members from Himachal Pradesh. Its functions were to advise the Union Government on matters pertaining to administrative policy, legislation and financial affairs of the Pradesh. Before we discuss the working of the new system, we shall say a few words about the method of appointment, tenure, etc., of the Chairman Territorial Council, the Administrator, the Territorial Council and the Advisory Committee of the Home Minister.

The Chairman: The Chairman was to be elected by the members of the Territorial Council. He was to hold office for a period of five years. It was provided that the Central Government might nominate first Chairman who shall hold office for a period not exceeding one year. No person could remain a Chairman unless he became a member of the Territorial Council. The Chairman could be removed from his office if a resolution was passed by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the Council. However, if such a resolution was passed by less than two-thirds but not less than one half of the total membership of the Council, the Administrator might, by order in writing, remove the Chairman from his office. The Act laid down that no such resolution could be brought within one year from the date of election of the Chairman. There were other provisions too with the over-all effect of making the removal of the Chairman rather difficult, if not impossible. The Chairman was to be a whole-time functionary and was

entitled to such salary or allowance as fixed by the Central Government. A Vice-Chairman was also elected in the same way as the Chairman.

The Administrator : Part VIII of the Constitution, as amended in 1956, provided that Himachal Pradesh, would be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thought fit, through an Administrator. The Administrator was appointed by the President with such designation and term as he might specify. For Himachal Pradesh an Administrator with the designation of Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for a period of 5 years. The Administrator could attend and address the meetings of the Territorial Council. When he addressed any such meeting, he also presided over it. The Act provided that it would be the duty of the Chairman of a Territorial Council to furnish to the Administrator a copy of the proceedings of the meetings of the Council and such other information as he might require. The Administrator had the power to give to the Territorial Council all such directions as he might consider necessary and the Council was required to comply with such directions. The Administrator had the power to suspend the execution of any resolution, order or act of the Territorial Council if, in his opinion, the resolution, order or act was in excess of the powers conferred by law or its execution was likely to lead to breach of peace. The Administrator could recommend the supersession of the Territorial Council if he was satisfied that the Council was not competent to perform or persistently defaulted in the performance of its duties or exceeded or abused its powers.

The Territorial Council : The Territorial Council of Himachal Pradesh consisted of 41 members to be elected directly by the people on the basis of adult suffrage. Out of 41 seats, 12 were reserved for Scheduled Castes. The Central Government had the power to nominate not more than two persons to the Territorial Council. The term of office of a member of a Territorial Council was fixed as 5 years. The Central Government had the power to extend the term of office of all the elected members for a period not exceeding one year, in order to avoid administrative difficulty. Every member of the Territorial Council was deemed to be a public servant and was entitled to receive such salary or allowance as determined by the Central Government.

The Council was required to meet at least once every two

months. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman could, however, convene its meeting wherever he thought fit. If 1/5th of the members of the Council asked for a meeting, the Chairman had to summon a meeting.

The Council was empowered to appoint out of its own body such and so many standing committees for the efficient discharge of its duties as might be necessary. The appointment of a Finance Committee was obligatory.

The powers of the Council to make its bye-laws, impose taxes, appoint its staff, preparation, finalisation and submission of its budget, were greatly curtailed and circumscribed.

The Territorial Councils Act in Operation : After having explained the main provisions of Territorial Councils Act, 1956, so far as they related to structure, power and functions of various bodies and the manner in which it sought to curtail the democratic rights of the people and their representatives, we would now describe its actual working and determine whether the experiment was a success or a failure.

The people of Himachal Pradesh were extremely unhappy in their heart of hearts even though they had willingly agreed to make the sacrifice of their popular government in their determination to keep the area separate at any cost. However, the operation of the various provisions of Act made it clear that the arrangement did not give enough scope to the people of this territory in the building-up of their Pradesh. The people wanted that they should be associated with the administration in a way which would give them a feeling of genuine participation in the running of the administration. The people's representatives began to feel greatly humiliated and insulted under this system of administration. The dyarchy in operation suffered from all the defects as associated with the system introduced by the Act of 1919. The Council came to be regarded as a mockery and insult to democracy and a challenge to the self-respect of the peace-loving people of the hills. It began to be realised that the Government of India had taken undue advantage of the simplicity, calmness and faithfulness of the people of Himachal Pradesh. A brief description of the defects of Territorial Council set-up will enable us to appreciate the causes of dissatisfaction amongst the hill people.

Defects : (a) It was a clumsy experiment, unsound in theory

and unworkable in practice. Its clumsiness and theoretical unsoundness lay in its attempt to introduce a little responsibility in one part and leave the other altogether irresponsible. The system was unsound in theory because it proceeded on the assumption that it was possible to divide the various departments of government into two groups and entrust the administration to two different authorities. This assumption runs counter to the basic proposition that government is an organic whole and cannot be normally divided into compartments, administered in different ways. In fact, such a system has nothing to support it in the experience of civilised people or the history of mankind.

(b) The above inherent defect of the system was aggravated by the way in which the subjects were divided. The division was made in such a way that the Council was not in control of the whole of any single department. For instance, though education was the responsibility of the Council, it had nothing to do with college education. Even in the matter of school education, it had to accept the directions of the Administrator. Thus the division of functions was made in such a way as to leave little freedom to the Chairman and the Council in administering their departments. The departments with the Council were put in a position of dependence on the departments with the Administrator.

(c) The Chairman and the Council were not in a position to exercise due control over the services in the departments under their control. The appointments carrying a minimum monthly salary of rupees 30 per mensem or more could not be made by them without consultation with either the Administrator or the Union Public Service Commission. The result was that they could not choose their subordinates when the vacancies arose leading to inefficiency and slowing down the pace of work.

(d) The services were none too happy. There was good deal of confusion in their ranks. As the Council was treated as a local body, those required to serve it were no longer to be considered as government servants. This not only lowered their status but also curtailed their chances of promotion. Thus government servants were as much interested in the scrapping of the system as the people in general.

(e) The Council and its Chairman found themselves greatly handicapped in the execution of their policies because it lacked adequate financial powers. The schemes formulated by it would

be rejected by the Administration on the plea of lack of funds. The unanimous decision of the Council to introduce free and compulsory elementary school education in the Pradesh was rejected as unsound on financial grounds. The administration seemed to adopt step-motherly attitude towards the subjects with the Territorial Council leading to frustration and disappointment.

(f) As a body corporate, the Council was alien to the administration and was not responsible for making of the general policy. Even in the matters of its execution its sphere was limited. The splitting of administration resulted in duplication of work and increased expenditure.

(g) A very serious drawback in the working of the 'Body Corporate' was its highly centralised system of working. Even a bill of one rupee from any part of the Pradesh had to be disposed of in Simla. Some powers were delegated to some officers, but even that did not remove the delay in making payments. All payments had to be made by cheques to be signed by the Chief Executive Officer and one of the members of the Council. As a result, payments of P.W.D. labourers and other Council staff were delayed causing a great deal of discontent.

(h) The Chairman of the Territorial Council combined in himself the powers and functions of a Speaker with that of a Minister. This might have been an interesting constitutional experiment but could hardly be considered conducive to the growth of healthy democratic conventions.

(i) The Union Territories set-up deprived the people of Panchayati Raj. The Panchayati Raj Act, 1952, as passed by the erstwhile Himachal Pradesh Assembly, could not be implemented because the Territorial Councils Act abolished all Zila Panchayats. Thus, whereas in other parts of India a three-tier system of local self-government began to function, Himachal Pradesh remained for a long time without effective democratic institutions at the grass roots.

(j) The Advisory Committee of the Home Minister did not prove to be effective. With meetings held only for a few hours every three months, this body could hardly be expected to look into the administrative affairs of the Pradesh in any detail, much less to exercise any effective vigilance over the day-to-day administration.

(k) The Constitution had made Parliament the Legislature

for Himachal Pradesh and for this reason some weightage in the representation in the Parliament had been given to the people of this Pradesh. But it was also a very unsatisfactory arrangement. Parliament was far too busy with much more important matters than looking into the working of a small area and the members from the Pradesh hardly got any time or opportunity to bring their problems before Parliament.

(l) This system of administration created conditions under which the administration became apathetic and impervious to the needs of the people. It often followed policies that were anti-democratic. As a result, in Himachal Pradesh it was not the administration which was for the people, but the people which were for the administration.

(m) The Himachalis came to dislike the system because to them it appeared to be based on distrust in their capacity to manage their own affairs. They also could not understand as to why a Democratic Republic of India committed to equal opportunity for all should not grant to the people of its territories full rights of citizenship.

In fact, a hybrid executive, lack of responsibility, a Council partly elected and partly nominated, the division of functions, reservations general or particular were devices that could have no permanent place. They bore on their faces their transitional character. They could not be so devised as to be logical or rational. They contained within themselves the potentialities of friction. The system could be rightly characterised as cumbrous, confused and complex.

The great concern of the people began to be ventilated through resolutions of the various political parties of Himachal Pradesh, public meetings, memoranda and deputations which met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. The debates of the Territorial Council truly mirrored the feelings of the people on the issue of the restoration of a democratic set-up. The Council also unanimously passed a resolution demanding restoration of a democratic set-up to Himachal Pradesh. The creation of a separate State of Nagaland encouraged the people to make greater efforts to get back their popular and democratic set-up. As a result of the pressure of public opinion and the need to keep the people of the strategically located Himachal Pradesh content and happy in view of the threatening posture of the Chinese, the Home Minister made a

policy statement in Parliament on 7th December 1961. In his speech he outlined the future set-up of the Union Territories. He said that the present administrative set-up did not provide ample opportunities for participation of the people of these Union Territories in the developmental work of their areas. In order to create a consciousness in the people that they are the real participants in the administration, he proposed that all developmental work be handed over to the Territorial Council. He also stated that methods could be evolved to see that the Territorial Council, was enabled to advise on legislation. To study the constitutional, financial and administrative aspects of the proposed changes, a Committee under the chairmanship of the then Law Minister was appointed. The year 1962 saw a remarkable change taking place in the attitude of the Government of India over the issue of restoration of popular government. It came round to the view that instead of making changes in the Territorial Councils Act, 1956, it would be better to introduce a new piece of legislation to translate into reality the desires of the people for genuine participation in the management of their own affairs. The Government of India felt that it was no use taking half-hearted steps and measures. It was now prepared to delegate to the representatives of the people power to run their own government. The Government of Union Territories Act was passed in 1963. It made provisions for a Legislative Assembly and Council of Ministers for Himachal Pradesh. Most of the provisions of this act had been borrowed from the Government of Part 'C' States Act, 1951. There were, however, a few differences. The new Act continued to designate Lieutenant-Governor as the Administrator. Whereas the Act of 1951 allowed the Lieutenant-Governor the right to speak in, and otherwise take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Pradesh, the Act of 1963 deprived the Administrator of this right.

With the swearing in of a popular ministry headed by Dr. Y.S. Parmar on July 1, 1963 ended the long and peaceful struggle for the restoration of a democratic set-up in Himachal Pradesh.

THE PRESENT-DAY ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM (1971)

The present-day administrative system of Himachal Pradesh is somewhat different from the one it had as a Part 'C' State or as a Union Territory. Hence the need to give a brief description of it.

The basic point which one has to bear in mind is that as long as Himachal Pradesh was a part 'C' State or a Union Territory its

administration was run in the name of the President of India by a Lieutenant-Governor. Whereas now the administration is run by the State Government which consists of a Governor, the Council of Ministers and the administrative officials. Earlier, the Parliament had the power to make laws even on the subjects included in the State list; now the Legislative Assembly of the Pradesh has the exclusive power to make laws on the subjects in the State list. At present there is a High Court unlike the Court of Judicial Commissioner which used to be the highest Court earlier. Let us describe these components of the administrative system one by one.

(A) The Governor : The Governor is the head of the State administration. All the executive powers of the State are vested in him. But he does not exercise these powers of his own. These powers are exercised by him on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Thus Governor, under normal conditions, functions as a constitutional head or a nominal head. In case, however, an emergency is declared by the Government of India on account of the failure of the constitutional machinery in the State, then, the Governor acts as an agent of the Government of India and exercises all his powers at his discretion.

The Governor is appointed by the President of India, for a term of five years, during his pleasure. It means that the President can remove the Governor before the expiry of his term or can extend his term. Before appointing the Governor, the President may consult the Chief Minister of the State.

The Governor may be appointed out of civil servants or army personnel or politicians. It is required that the person to be appointed as Governor should be a citizen of India and should not be less than thirty-five (35) years of age. After his appointment, the Governor can neither be nor remain a member of Parliament or Legislative Assembly nor hold any other office.

The Governor is paid a salary of Rs. 5'00/- per month. He is entitled to certain other allowances. A free and furnished house, known as Raj Bhawan, is given to him, as his residence.

His powers and functions can be discussed under executive, legislative and judicial heads. He appoints the Chief Minister and on his advice other ministers, in exercise of his executive powers. He also appoints the Chairman and members of the Public Service Commission. He also appoints the Advocate General of the State. Moreover, he is consulted by the President at the time of the

appointment of judges of the State High Court. The Chief Minister keeps him informed of the important decisions of the Council of Ministers. The Governor may advise, encourage or warn the Council with regard to their decisions and actions. In case the Governor feels that the administration of the State cannot be carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution, he may, in his discretion, submit a report to the President. If, on the basis of his report or otherwise, an emergency is declared because of the failure of constitutional machinery, then he takes over the administration. In such a situation, he runs the administration of the State as an agent of the Federal Government.

His legislative powers include the convening of the sessions of the Legislative Assembly. He adjourns or dissolves the Legislature. He addresses the opening session of the Legislature every year. In his address, he outlines the policies of the government. He causes the budget or the annual statement of income and expenditure to be laid before the legislature through the Finance Minister. No financial proposal can be placed before the Assembly without his prior approval. Furthermore, no bill can become an act without his assent. He may refuse to give his assent or return the bill to the Legislature for re-consideration. But in case such a bill is again passed by the Assembly then he is left with no choice but to give his assent. The Governor sends those bills to the President which under the Constitution require his assent. He can issue Ordinances on the subject contained in the State list, in case the assembly is not in session. But the duration of such Ordinances expires after six weeks of the convening of the session of the Assembly.

The Governor can pardon or grant reprieve for any offence involving the breaking of the State laws.

(B) The Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers : The Chief Minister is appointed by the Governor and other members of the Council of Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. Normally the leader of the majority party in the Legislative Assembly is appointed as Chief Minister and is called upon to form his ministry. This is done because the conventions of a parliamentary system of democratic government require it. Furthermore, it is also necessary because the Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Assembly and no Chief Minister will be prepared to take up this responsibility unless he is

given a free hand in the selection of his Ministers. This principle also implies that all the ministers sink or swim together. They give up their offices together if they lose majority in the house, a vote of no confidence is passed, or an important proposal or a policy is rejected by the Assembly.

The strength of the Council of Ministers is not fixed by the Constitution. It can vary from time to time. At present the Council of Ministers in Himachal Pradesh has nine members. Four of them, including the Chief Minister, are Cabinet Ministers, three of them are Ministers of State, one a Chief Parliamentary Secretary, and one a Parliamentary Secretary. There is no Deputy Minister. The Ministers of State, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are not members of the Cabinet and hence not entitled to participate in its meetings. It is obvious that a Cabinet is a smaller body than the Council of Ministers. But it is a central policy-making and decision-making body. The other members of the Council of Ministers are there to assist this body in the implementation of its decisions and the execution of its policies. An analysis of the composition of the Council of Ministers brings out some interesting facts. A look at their social background reveals the dominance of the upper castes. Five out of the nine members are drawn from Brahmin or Rajput castes. Out of the other four, two are Banias, one Ghirt and only one belongs to a scheduled caste. It is clear that scheduled castes or scheduled tribes have not been able to obtain representation according to their numbers. The occupational background study shows that five are drawn from the legal profession, one from medicine, one from teaching, one from social service and one from business. Educationally, the present Council of Ministers indicates that the political leadership of a largely illiterate pahari society is in the hands of the educated elite. Six of the members of the Council of Ministers have university degrees, none is illiterate and only one has received education up to matric. Age-wise, the present Council of Ministers consists of five whose ages are between 41-60 years, one is above 60 years and three whose ages are between 25-40. Thus the ministry strikes a healthy balance between youth, wisdom and experience.

The term of office of the Council of Ministers is not fixed. They continue in office as long as they enjoy the confidence of the Legislative Assembly.

The Council of Ministers and its leader, the Chief minister,

actually and effectively exercise all the powers which have formally been vested in the Governor by the Constitution. They carry on administration with the help of permanent civil servants drawn from the Indian Administrative Services, State Administrative Services and other specialized services. The Chief Secretary is the head of the permanent administrative machinery. There are other Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries, etc., in the State Secretariat. Each District has a Deputy Commissioner. There are Divisional Commissioners in between the Deputy Commissioners and the Secretariat. The Chief Medical Officer and the Superintendent of Police are other important officials at the district level. Numerous other social and welfare departments are headed by their respective officers. These administrative officers play a vital role and help in implementing the pledges and policies of the ministers. They place at the latter's disposal their expert advice and help in the formulation of various schemes for the welfare of the people. If the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers are the pivot around which the executive, financial and legislative functions of our State revolve, then the bureaucracy provides to this pivot the real power to enable it to make everyone revolve round it.

The Legislative Assembly : The Legislative Assembly is the popularly elected house. The members are elected on the basis of adult franchise. For the purposes of election, the State is divided into single member constituencies so that every constituency has a population around 75000. Some of these constituencies are reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In Himachal Pradesh there are 68 members of the Legislative Assembly out of which 19 belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The members are elected for a term of five years, unless, the Legislative Assembly is dissolved earlier. No one can be elected a member of the Assembly if he is not an Indian citizen or his age is less than twenty-five years. Every Legislative Assembly elects its Chairman. He is known as Speaker. He presides over the meetings of the Legislative Assembly.

In the present Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly 27% of its members belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, 44.10% are Rajputs, 18.60% are Brahmins and 10.30% Mahajans or Ghirts. The age distribution shows 72% below the age of 50 years and the rest above 50 years. An analysis of the occupational

back-ground shows that 37% are drawn from the professions, 6.5% from business, 19.5% claim social service as their occupation and 38% are agriculturists. It must, however, be pointed out that almost every member claims agriculture as his primary or secondary occupation. 80% members of the Vidhan Sabha have received education up to the matriculation level and above. No one is illiterate. This analysis shows the leadership in the Legislative Assembly rests, by and large, with the top layers of the social, economic, pyramid; in terms of caste, occupation, education, etc.

The Legislative Assembly has the power to legislate on all the subjects contained in the State list of our Constitution. It can also make laws on the subjects contained in the concurrent list provided a law is not inconsistent with the law passed by the Parliament, on the same subject. It should be noted, however, that in case of the enforcement of Presidential rule in the State, the Parliament gets the powers to legislate even on the subjects contained in the State list.

The Assembly has control over the finances of the State. No money can be spent by the Government without the sanction of the Assembly. Taxes can be imposed, abolished or reduced only with its permission.

Since the Council of Ministers is responsible to it, the Assembly exercises control over the administration of the State. The members have the right to ask questions, move motions of censure as well as no confidence. Through these methods the weaknesses of the administration can be highlighted and in case of extreme dissatisfaction with the working of a ministry it may be voted out of office. However, here it must be pointed out that because of the party system, the Legislative Assembly finds it difficult to effectively exercise all these powers. The political parties are, by and large, well organized and well knit. The members are elected on their tickets and by their financial support. No member of the ruling party dares to go against the directive of the leaders of his party, who are generally the members of the council of Ministers. Thus in actual practice, it is the Council of Ministers which controls and directs the Assembly rather than the other way round.

A democratic system of administration can successfully operate if there is democratic decentralisation. Such a decentralisation gives to the people a sense of participation in the decision-making processes of the administration and thus strengthens democracy at

the grassroots. For these purposes, the Panchayati Raj system has been introduced in Himachal Pradesh.

The administration of the rural areas of Himachal Pradesh is carried on through the three-tier organisational set-up of Panchyati Raj, i.e. Zila Parishads, Panchayat Samities and Gram Panchayats. The Gram Panchayat is at the base, the Panchayat Samiti is at the intermediary level and the Zila Parishad is at the apex of the Panchayati Raj. Besides these three tiers, there is another body called the Gram Sabha, a sort of general assembly of all the adult residents of the village. It has hardly any powers. It is largely a debating forum. It is required to hold at least two meetings a year.

A Gram Panchayat is like an executive committee of the Gram Sabha. It is the basic unit of the Panchayati Raj system. The strength of the members is not fixed. It ranges between five and nine members, in accordance with the population of the village or group of contiguous villages. All the members, called Panchas, are directly elected by the members of the Gram Sabha from amongst themselves. The elected members co-opt one woman and one or two members of the scheduled castes and tribes. The chairman of the Gram Panchayat is called Sarpanch and is directly elected by the Gram Sabha. This body not only caters to the civic needs of the rural people but also supervises the working of such village officials as the Chokidar, the Patwari, etc. Since the Panchayat is considered to be a vehicle of modern ideas and techniques in agriculture and community development, it is required to organize young farmers clubs, mahila mandals, cooperative societies and also help in the procurement of fertilizers, improved seeds and agricultural implements. It is desired to organise campaigns for intensive farming, setting-up of orchards, destruction of weeds and pests. In short, everything that goes to make the life of the rural folk richer and better falls within its purview. Further, it also acts as the small cause court for the village. It has certain sources of income which might help it discharge its functions.

The Panchayat Samiti or the Block Samiti is constituted blockwise. It can be constituted for a tehsil also. It consists of primary, co-opted, associate and ex-officio members. The primary members are elected by the Panchas and Sarpanchas of all the Gram Panchayats, and Cooperative Societies falling within the area

of the Samiti. These members co-opt women and scheduled caste or tribe members. All the members of the state legislature representing a block or tehsil or a part thereof become its associate members. The Sub-Divisional Officer (Civil) and the Block Development Officer are its *ex-officio* members. From amongst its primary or coopted members, a chairman and a Vice-Chairman are elected. The Samiti is required to hold at least six meetings in a year. The Block Development Officer and the Panchayat Officer act as its executive officers. They put into effect the decisions of the Samiti, run the office administration and furnish any information which the Samiti members may ask for.

The Panchayat Samiti is the pivot round which the whole mechanism of Panchayati Raj revolves. Therefore it is called upon to perform a variety of functions in the field of agriculture, public health and rural sanitation, education, development of cottage industries, establishment and maintenance of sarais, rest houses, markets, public parks, etc. It constructs and maintains inter-village roads, organises agricultural shows, cattle fairs, and industrial exhibitions. As such, it formulates development schemes for the block and executes them. All development grants given by the Government are channeled through it.

The Panchayat Samiti functions through the agency of its three Standing committees. It has extensive sources of revenue. Its budget is prepared by its executive officers, and is considered and passed by the Samiti. After it, the budget is sent up to the Zila Parishad for approval. The Zila Parishad can make suggestions in writing which are nothing short of directives which the Panchayat Samiti accepts. The Zila Parishad is the district-level organisation of the Panchayati Raj. It is a coordinating and advisory body. It, too, has elected, co-opted, associate and *ex-officio* members. The elected members are sent up by the Panchayat Samitis in the district. The Chairmen of all the Samitis are its *ex-officio* members, so is the Deputy Commissioner and the District Development Officer. All the state-level and union-level legislators representing the district or a part thereof are the associate members of the Zila Parishads. Women and scheduled caste and scheduled tribe members are coopted by the elected elements and the Samiti Chairmen. Their normal term, like that of the Samitis and Panchayats, is five years. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Parishad are elected by the members from

amongst themselves. The Secretary of the Parishad, who is a permanent official, is the head of the office-administration. Since the Zila Parishads do not directly handle the administrative and developmental activities, their powers and functions are limited to acting as channels for the downward flow of government grants-in-aid and development funds. Only a detailed study in depth can tell if the Panchayati Raj has succeeded in strengthening democracy at the grass-roots and in bringing about a socio-economic transformation of the rural areas of Himachal Pradesh.

Before closing this brief description of the administrative system of Himachal Pradesh it would be worthwhile to give some idea of the functions and powers of the State High Court and the State Public Service Commission.

The Himachal Pradesh High Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Judges who have been appointed by the President of India. The number of Judges can be increased if the work load increases. To be appointed as Judge it is essential that the person be a citizen of India and must have held a judicial office for at least ten years or must have practised as an Advocate of a High Court for ten years. The appointments are made by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the Governor in case of Chief Justice of the High Court, and the Chief Justice of the High Court in case of other Judges. The salaries and allowances of the Judges are laid down in the Constitution of India and cannot be reduced by the State Legislative Assembly. The retirement age is 62 years. A Judge of High Court can be removed before the retirement age through a difficult and complicated process on the prayer of the Parliament by the President. After retirement a Judge can practise as an Advocate in a High Court other than in which he may have served or in a Supreme Court.

The High Court is the guardian of our fundamental rights. It hears and decides appeals against the decisions of subordinate courts in revenue, criminal, and income tax cases. It also hears election petitions. It has certain administrative powers and functions pertaining to its subordinate judges and employees.

The State Public Service Commission : It consists of a Chairman and two other members who are appointed by the Governor for a period of six years or till the age of sixty-two years, whichever is, earlier. After retirement they cannot be appointed to any other office under the State Government. Their salaries are laid

down and cannot be voted upon by the Legislature. Their removal before retirement is possible through a very difficult procedure. All these provisions have been made to enable the members to function impartially, without any fear or favour.

The main function of the Himachal Pradesh Public Service Commission is to help in the recruitment of State administrative personnel. For this purpose it conducts competitive examinations. In case of certain jobs the candidates are selected on the basis of interviews only. The Commission also helps the State in the framing of rules regarding recruitment, promotion, transfer, leave and pension, etc., of its administrative personnel. The State Government may request the Commission to conduct an inquiry against an official or seek its advice in matters of disciplinary action against its officials.

The annual report of the working of the Public Service Commission is laid before the Legislative Assembly of the Pradesh. It enables the members of the Assembly to take stock of the recruitment policies of the government. The functions of the Commission are of great importance for the successful and efficient functioning of the administrative machinery of the Pradesh.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES

N. K. Sharda

The natural and human resources of a region are the foundations of its economic development. Even in this age of science when man has considerably conquered nature, it is difficult to think of any aspect of economic life in a developing state like Himachal Pradesh which is not directly or indirectly influenced by natural factors. Similarly, human resources become a pre-condition for the utilisation of the various natural resources found in this region. With a view to understand the problems of economic development and to formulate development-plans we shall first examine in detail the availability of these resources in Himachal Pradesh.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Land : The total area of Himachal Pradesh is 55,673 square kilometres. Although it is one of the smaller states of India, it is larger than Panjab, Haryana, Kerala, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya in area. The topography of the State is rugged and the terrain is mostly hilly. Its altitude varies between 460 metres and 6,400 metres above the mean sea level. According to physiography the area may be classified into (i) Outer Himalayan, (ii) Inner Himalayan and (iii) Alpine pasture regions. The rainfall varies from 152 cms. to 178 cms. in the first region, from 76 cms. to 102 cms. in the second region and the third region remains snow-covered for about 5 to 6 months in the year.

The whole area may be classified in five zones on the basis of different soils as—(i) low-hill soil zone, (ii) mid-hill soil zone, (iii) high-hill soil zone (iv) mountainous soil zone, and (v) dry-hill soil zone. The first zone covers area upto an altitude of 900 metres above sea level. The quality of the soils of this region is suitable for the cultivation of maize, wheat, sugar-cane; ginger, paddy and citrus fruits. The second zone covers area lying between 900 metres and 1500 metres above sea level. The soils of this region are suitable for the cultivation of table potatoes, stone fruits, wheat and maize. The high-hill soil zone, covering areas between 1,500 metres and 2,100 metres above sea level, is the most suitable

for the cultivation of seed potatoes and temperate fruits. The mountainous-soil zone covering the altitudes between 2,100 metres and 3,000 metres is suitable for the cultivation of dry fruits only.

Land Utilisation : According to the 1971 census, the population of Himachal Pradesh constitutes only 0.63 per cent of total population of India, whereas its geographical area forms 1.7 per cent of total area of the country. The density of population is 62 per square kilometre as against 134 for the country as a whole. Though the overall density is low, the pressure on cultivated area is very great. According to the land statistics, as given below, only 21 per cent of the total area of the Pradesh is cultivated as against 52 per cent of the all-India level. Table 13.1 shows land utilisation pattern in Himachal Pradesh.

Table 13.1
Land Utilization

S. No.	Classification of area	Total area 1967-68 (,000 hectares)	Percentage of total area
1.	Total geographical area according to village papers.	2,911.51	100.00
2.	Forests.	633.86	21.7
3.	Not available for cultivation.	316.78	10.9
4.	Other uncultivated land excluding fallow land.	1,351.06	46.4
5.	Fallow Land.	63.22	2.2
6.	Net area sown	546.59	18.8

Source : *Symposium on Social and Economic Problems of Hilly Areas*, p. 219 Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Himachal Pradesh.

Similarly, the net area sown is about 19 per cent of the total geographical area as compared to 45 per cent sown area for all-India. The population-land ratio works out to 5.6 persons per hectare in Himachal Pradesh against 3.2 persons per hectare at the all-India level. This indicates that more stress has to be laid on intensive cultivation in this Pradesh rather than extensive cultivation.

Agriculture : Although agriculture does not fall in the category of natural resources, yet it is pertinent to devote some space to it. This will enable us to understand the related problems in greater detail.

The predominance of agriculture in the State's economy is to be judged from the fact that its contribution to the State's income was around 60 per cent during 1965-66 (at constant prices). In addition, it is the mainstay of the State's economy as 76 per cent of the workers are engaged in it in order to earn their livelihood. But as the terrain over a greater part of the Pradesh is hilly and terraced, holdings are small and scattered, out-turn of food crops is very low except in the valley areas. However, the agro-climatic conditions of the State are most suitable for growing a wide variety of fruits and cash crops like potatoes, vegetable seeds, ginger, etc.

Maize and wheat are the major food crops. While Himachal Pradesh ranked second in the yield of maize, next to Mysore (1983 kgs. per hectare in 1968-69 as against 2143 kgs. in Mysore), productivity in wheat was lower than most other wheat producing States. The State has specialized in the production of seed potatoes. During 1972-73 the production of seed potatoes was 72.18 thousand tonnes as compared to 49.53 thousand tonnes in the previous year. The following table gives total foodgrains production in the State from 1968-69 to 1972-73.

Table 13.2.
Total Foodgrains Production (In thousand tonnes)

S. No.	Year	Total Production
1.	1968-69	924.89
2.	1969-70	900.16
3.	1973-71	949.70
4.	1971-72	944.60
5.	1972-73	912.57

Source : Directorate of Land Records, Himachal Pradesh.

Table 13.2 shows a decline in the production of foodgrains since 1971-72. The out-put declined because draught conditions continued to prevail since 1971.

Between 1960-61 and 1969-70, a total of 1,27,974 hectares of land has been consolidated in the Pradesh. Currently, the task is being carried on in Kangra, Hamirpur, Mandi, Una, Bilaspur and Solan districts. The target for 1972-73 was 16,997 hectares.

The Governor of Himachal Pradesh promulgated an Ordinance amending the Himachal Pradesh Tenancy and Land Reforms Act, and seeking to bring in certain amendments regarding the resumption of land by the landowners from non-occupancy tenants, as

well as some other amendments. A bill to this effect was passed by the State Vidhan Sabha later. Under the provision of land ceilings, the State Government has taken some steps to fix the upper limit on farms of various categories so that the maximum amount of surplus land could be obtained for distribution among landless labour. At the same time it has been kept in view that the land left with the tiller is enough for providing him and his family with an economic holding. Lands with assured irrigation and capable of producing two crops a year have been limited to 10 acres. Similar holdings capable of producing one crop a year will not exceed 15 acres. Other types of land could be subjected to 30 acres ceiling, except in backward and inaccessible areas, inhabited by tribal people where the limit is 70 acres. The measures also envisage inclusion of private forests and *banjar* land in the ceiling and their consequent vesting in the State. These limits are most progressive keeping in view the social and economic factors in the Pradesh where farming is less rewarding in comparison to the neighbouring states.

On 30th June, 1973, there were 2496 agricultural cooperative credit societies in the Pradesh. The societies advance short-term and medium-term loans to the farmers and provide them consumer goods at reasonable rates. During the year 1973-74, these cooperatives were expected to advance short and medium term loans to the extent of Rs. 490 lakhs as against Rs. 479.42 lakhs during 1972-73. The long-term credit needs of the farmers are being provided for by the Himachal Pradesh Central Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank, Ltd., Simla, and by the Primary Land Mortgage Bank Ltd., Dharmsala. During the year 1973-74, these banks were expected to advance long-term loans to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs as compared to Rs. 16.21 lakhs during 1972-73.

In order to ensure better returns to the farmers, the State Government has constituted the Himachal Pradesh Marketing Board. A number of regulated markets are being established all over the State. Paonta and Nalagarh markets have been regulated and these markets have started functioning. The Co-operative societies help in the marketing of cash crops like potatoes, apples, ginger, vegetables, etc. During 1972, the State Government offered a support price to the potato-growers who marketed their produce through the Kailash Cooperative Marketing Federation.

At present, there are 69 Blocks in the Pradesh out of which 7½

are in Stage II and 61½ in Post-Stage II. The work programme in these blocks comprises, inter alia, the distribution of improved seeds, fertilizers, agricultural implements, improved birds and animals, the construction of roads, the organisation of social functions and literacy centres, etc. We shall study more about community Development programmes later.

Horticulture : Himachal Pradesh has taken big strides in horticultural development. The exceedingly favourable agro-climatic conditions prevailing in the State offer vast scope for the development of fruits like apple, nuts, citrus fruits, temperate fruits and other sub-tropical fruits. It has manifold impact on the soil and climatic conditions. It imparts nutritive diet to the people, checks up soil erosion, has an increasing employment potential of horticulture-based industries and above all it enables the utilisation of the area which is uncultivable. Horticulture development has resulted in a change from subsistence agrarain economy to cash economy with the result that hills which were once associated with perennial poverty are to-day looking forward to a bright economic future. The following table shows a phenomenal increase in the area and production of fruits in Himachal Pradesh.

Table 13.3.
Area and Production of Fruits

Year	Area (,000 hectares)	Production (,000 tonnes)
1960-61	6,009	19.02
1965-66	22,257	36.95
1970-71	44,130	148.58
1973-74	55,455	240.57

Source : Statistical Outline of Himachal Pradesh, Horticulture Department, Himachal Pradesh.

With the expected developments in this field, it is estimated that the area under fruits would rise to 88,232 hectares in 1980-81. Output, as a result, is expected to rise to 4,63,500 tonnes by this period.

The rapid growth in fruit production in the past few years, as also the expected levels of achievements in the future, have brought in their wake several problems which need immediate attention, considering the vital role that the horticulture plays in the State's economy. In the main, these relate to production, orchard manage-

ment, marketing and the utilisation of fruits which cannot be economically marketed.

The storage problem has considerably eased as a result of completion and commissioning of two cold storages, one at Delhi and the other at Bombay. In addition, the Government-Warehouse at Parwanu handled 9.80 lakh apple boxes during 1973-74. Warehouses are under construction at Ponta Sahib, Kirtpur and Pathankot also. The Himachal Pradesh Agro-Industries Corporation has been making efforts to remove marketing bottlenecks.

The most important step in horticulture development in the State was the signing of an agreement for the World Bank Project. Foreign exchange amounting to 13 million dollars has been released against this project. The total expected cost of this project is over Rs. 16 crores out of which Rs. 4.75 crores shall be in the form of foreign aid which forms about 60 per cent of the total cost. Besides, Rs. 5.38 crores shall be met by the Himachal Pradesh Government through its plans of the Departments of Public Works and Horticulture, while the rest, Rs. 1.00 crores, will be financed by the Agricultural Refinance Corporation and Commercial Banks. The project envisages the establishment of 12 packing and grading stations, 3 collection centres, 4 cold storages, one transshipment centre and one processing plant for the proper grading, packing, storage and processing of the horticulture produce. In addition, it is proposed to construct 97 kms. of new link roads, improve 304 kms. of existing roads and lay about 40 kms. of cable-ways. The project is to be executed through a subsidiary of the Himachal Pradesh Agro-Industries Corporation.

To ease the problem of processing of fruits the State Government has established seven fruit canning units. These units also impart short term training courses for the interested persons. During 1973-74 about 200 tonnes of fruit products were expected to be processed besides imparting training in fruit canning preservation to about 3,000 persons. The Government have been making serious efforts in meeting the credit requirements of this sector. A provision of Rs. 6.00 lakhs for the advance of loans by Department of Horticulture was made during 1973-74.

Animal Husbandry. Agriculture being the mainstay of the people, the development of animal husbandry is both supplementary and complementary to the progress of the former. The livestock population in Himachal Pradesh was about

42 lakhs according to figures available from the 1966 census. But from the qualitative aspects the position is not very encouraging as the milk yield per milk cattle is significantly low as compared to other parts of the country. To overcome various shortcomings in the field of animal husbandry the State Government has planned a development programme including (i) veterinary aid, (ii) development in the sphere of cattle, sheep-breeding, wool, poultry, feed and fodder, (iii) veterinary education and (iv) milk supply schemes.

Forests : Forests occupy an important place in the State's economy. They cover as much as 38.5 per cent of the total area of the State. As compared to the other States, Himachal Pradesh ranks tenth according to area under forests and sixth according to percentage of forest area. Though the percentage of forest area in Himachal Pradesh is higher than the all-India average of 23.1 per cent, it is much lower than the percentage of 60 per cent laid down in the directives of National Forest Policy—1952 for hilly states like Himachal Pradesh. Efforts are being made by the State Government to bring more and more area under forests so as to come upto the level laid down in the National Forest Policy.

On the basis of composition, the forests of the State can be divided into coniferous forests and broad leaved forests. *Deodar, Kail, Chil*, spruce, silverfir and *neoza* pine are coniferous species. Kinnaur is the only district in India where *neoza* forests are found. Among the broad leaved species, *sal, ban, oak, mohau oai, kharsu* oak, walnut, mapple, birdcherry, *seemal, tun* and *sisham* are the important species which grow in these forests.

Coniferous forests provide wood which is an excellent raw material for wood-based industries and these forests occupy more than two-thirds of State's forest area.

Forests are essential to conserve soil and to regulate the flow of water in the perennial rivers which flow through all the districts; and thereby to ensure the longevity of the multipurpose and hydro-electric projects which have great power and irrigation potential in this Pradesh. The forests of the Pradesh lie in the catchments of five important rivers, viz., Yamuna, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab. This situation will entail small transportation cost for starting wood-based industries in river basins. Medicinal herbs and aromatic plants are found in plenty in Himachal Pradesh. These are in big demand by pharmaceutical and perfumery industries.

Forests provide the single largest source of revenue to the State Government, contributing more than 25 per cent to the State's revenue. Forest revenue since 1969-70 is given below in table 13.4. These statistics show a fall in total revenue during the year 1972-73. This shortfall was the result of the low priority assigned to forests during 1972-73. However, the State Government not only continued its previous schemes of forest development but also hoped to complete two new working plans and enumerate 15 thousand hectares of forest area. Under plantation

Table 13.4
Forest Revenue

				Rs. lakhs
Year	Timber	Minor Forest Produce	Other Sources	Total
1969-70	510.32	117.94	24.09	652.35
1970-71	510.46	210.22	26.13	746.81
1971-72	548.50	223.30	44.34	816.14
1972-73	476.00	202.12	48.88	727.00
1973-74	720.00	300.00	80.00	1,100.00
(anticipated)				

Source : Forest Department, Himachal Pradesh.

and production scheme (1974-75) emphasis was laid on farm forestry, economic plantation and plantation of quick growing species. Plan programme for this year also included proper extraction of logs, consolidation and demarcation of forests, survey work, pasture improvement etc.

Minerals : The important minerals found in Himachal Pradesh are rock salt, slate, limestone, gypsum and barytes. Rocksalt deposits are located in Mandi district and gypsum in Sirmur district. Vast deposits of slate are found in Mandi and Chamba districts. Limestone is found in Bilaspur, Kangra and Sirmur and Mandi districts. Sirmur and Bilaspur deposits of limestone are suitable for the cement industry. A cement plant at Rajban in Sirmur district has been sanctioned by the Government of India. This plant with a capacity of 600 tonnes of cement per day will be in the public sector.

The exploitation of minerals in the State has been started only recently. During the year 1971, the total production of major and minor minerals was of the order of 37,170 and 2,00,000 tonnes respectively, total production valued around Rs. 4 lakhs. This

production is insignificant compared to the vast potential. A small beginning in mining of the fertilizer-grade limestone has now been made under the aegis of the State-owned H. P. Mineral and Industrial Development Corporation. A Geological Wing, established in 1966, has undertaken detailed investigations of the various deposits in the state (iron ore and gypsum deposits in Sirmur District and limestone/dolomite in parts of Nalagarh Tehsil of Simla district).

Industries : Himachal Pradesh is one of the least industrialized states in India. Though the economy of the State possesses vast scope for forest and mineral based industries, as also horticulture-based industries, it has, however, remained industrially backward. The main bottlenecks in the industrial development are its topography, inadequate transport facilities, lack of entrepreneurial skills, etc.

Among the major industrial units in the State are (i) Nahan Foundry Ltd., Nahan, (ii) Resin and Turpentine Factories at Nahan and Bilaspur in the Government sector and the Mohan Meakin Breweries and Distilleries in the private sector. As mentioned earlier the Cement Corporation of India has started a 600 tonnes a day capacity cement plant at Rajban. A newsprint plant in the Sutlej-Beas Basin with a production capacity of 200 tonnes a day is also proposed to be established. The erection of Himalya Fertilizer Company (Manjoli in Nalagarh), a joint-sector venture is complete and the factory is expected to go into production by April, 1975. Three steel re-rolling mills in Solan district and one in Kangra district have already gone into production while one more in Kangra district is in progress. A chemical unit set up in private sector by M/s. Himachal Terpene Chemicals at Kala Amb in district Sirmur has gone into production. A similar unit is coming up at Mahatpur in Una district. Nine places have been chosen for the development of industrial areas in the State.

Besides, a number of units in the small-scale sector have also been established which are manufacturing a number of products such as watch parts, microscopes, clinical and industrial thermometers, transistor-radios, guns, hospital equipment, miniature bulbs, heating equipment, vacuum and pressure gauges, water supply fittings etc. In 1971, there were 201 registered factories in Himachal Pradesh of which 59 were registered under the Companies

Act (Source : Statistical Outline of Himachal Pradesh, 1973 pp. 112 and 120). According to Annual Survey of Industries in Himachal Pradesh (Census Sector), 1966, the ex-factory gross value of output and value added by manufacture amounted to Rs. 5.96 crores and Rs. 1.90 crores respectively.

Fisheries : Five perennial rivers—Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, Beas and Yamuna flow through the State together with their reservoirs and lakes. They have immense potential for fisheries. There is vast scope for the development of mirror-crap fish in the confined waters of sub-mountainous regions and trout fish in the running waters of mountainous region.

The production of fish during 1972-73 was 740 tonnes. The approximate value of fish caught during this period was Rs. 11.10 lakhs. This production was expected to go up to 800 tonnes during 1973-74 under the programme of conservation of riverine fisheries, 3,624 fishermen were licenced upto October 1973. In order to ensure a coordinated development of various aspects of fisheries, the State Government has provided an outlay of Rs. 50 lakhs in the Fourth Plan.

Rivers and Hydro-Power : Vast hydro-power potential of the State has not been properly harnessed as yet. The Energy Survey of India Committee (1965) has estimated the aggregate hydro-power potential of the State at 1.87 million Kw or about 5 per cent of the country as a whole. The State's sources, placed the hydel-power potential at 8.57 million Kw or about one-fifth of the aggregate hydro-power resources of the country. The hydel potential of various perennial rivers flowing through the territory of Himachal Pradesh has been estimated as below :

Table 13.5

Hydro-Power Potential	(Million Kws)
River	Power Potential
Sutlej	3.50 ✓
Beas	3.01 ✓
Ravi	0.50 ✓
Chenab	0.76 ✓
Yamuna	0.80 ✓
Total 8.57	

If this large hydro potential is tapped to the full extent, Himachal Pradesh will be able to meet the power requirements of

Northern grid in a substantial measure. The implementation of various power projects, in addition to bringing in substantial revenue to the State, would also contribute a great deal to the over-all social and economic development of the State.

In spite of the large power potential, the installed capacity of power stations owned by the State is only 52 Kw. Out of this Bassi Power House contributed 45 Mw. The installed capacity of power is likely to rise to 133 Mw after the completion of the Giri-Bata project I (60Mw) and the Nogli Power Project (1 Mw).

Himachal Pradesh is now set for a big leap forward to harness its power resources in order to produce cheap electricity. Amongst the projects under execution are Giri Hydel Project-I, Uhl Hydel Project-II, Nogli Power Project, Rukti Micro Hydel Scheme, Charola Micro Hydel Scheme and Sissu Micro Hydel Scheme. The hydrological, topographical and geological surveys of about 10 projects are also in progress. About 1,000 Mw capacity Nathpa-Jhakri Hydel Project based on the Sutlej Waters in Kinnaur district has been envisaged by the Government of India. The abundant perennial flow in the river coupled with steep gradients of the river channel permits generation of power at very cheap cost by diverting the flow through a tunnel and dropping it back into the river at a down stream point. Another project in the same area, which has been included in the Fifth Plan of Himachal Pradesh, will generate 150 Mw of power of the Sutlej. By a construction similar to Nathpa-Jhakri, the Bhaba Khad will be diverted through a 5,160 metre long tunnel and then dropped through 915 metres to run two units of 75 Mw each, in an underground power house located on the right stream of Nathpa. The discharged water will be available for power generation at the Jakhri Power House. Investigations are going on for the construction of Parbati Project in Kulu district. The expected power generation from this project is 2,000 Mw. It will be completed in three stages.

With the implementation of the above mentioned projects Himachal Pradesh will not only be able to meet its own power requirements but would also have sufficient surplus power which would be readily absorbed by the neighbouring States having power shortage.

1951 HUMAN RESOURCES

The 1971 Census places the population of Himachal Pradesh at 34.24 lakhs or about 0.63 percent of the country's population.

The table given below shows the size and density of population during 1901-1971.

Table 13'6
Size and Density of Population

Year	Total Population (in lakhs)	Decennial Percentage change	Density per Square Km.
1901	19.20	—	34
1911	18.97	-1.22	34
1921	19.28	+1.65	35
1931	20.29	+5.23	36
1941	22.63	+11.54	41
1951	23.86	+5.42	48
1961	28.12	+17.87	51
1971	34.60	+23.04	62

The decennial growth rate of population (1961-71) in the State at 23.04 was lower than the national average of 24.66 per cent. However, the advantages of a relatively small population and lower growth rate are not very significant in the State, considering the population dispersal and density. The districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul and Spiti, for example, accounting for more than 34 per cent of area had only 2.2 per cent of the State's population while Kangra and Mandi districts account for 53 per cent of population with about 22 per cent of the total area. As a result, despite a very low average density of population (62 average in 1971), significant variation in population density exists within the State. The district of Lahaul and Spiti had population density of only 2 persons/Sq. Km. while Bilaspur, the most populous district, had 167 persons/Sq. Km. followed by Kangra and Simla districts with 151 and 84 respectively. (Source : Statistical Outline of Himachal Pradesh-1973 p. 6). The nature of terrain, climate and economic opportunities largely explain this variance. It seems that for the very same reasons these differences will continue to persist at least for some time to come. With a view to estimating the potential human resources we must know the age composition of population as also the size of labour force. The larger proportion of population in the lowest age group, 0-14, which averaged 39.8 per cent during 1961-71, shows that the death rate in this age-group, especially infant mortality has declined and/or birth rate has increased. Birth rate during this

period declined. Hence, the increase is explained by the decline in death rate.

The size of the working force declined from approximately 15 lac 16 thousand in 1961 to about 12 Lac 61 thousand in 1971. Similarly, the number of workers as a percentage of total population has declined from 53.90 to 36.82 in the same period. This sharp decline in working force obviously needs an explanation. The explanation for this unusual phenomenon lies in the conceptual and statistical divergence between the two censuses. First, there is a difference in the classification used for eliciting information for the economic activity from the respondents. In 1961, the respondents had the following choice of classes of workers : (i) working as cultivator, (ii) working as agricultural labourer, (iii) working at house-hold industry and (iv) doing work other than these three. The 1971 census adopted individual slip which reduced work to economic categories : (a) main occupation and (b) secondary work. The main activity was taken as one in which a respondent mainly engaged himself. If this main activity was economically productive, the respondent was classified primarily as a worker ; if unproductive, he was classified primarily as a non-worker. *Second*, the reference period for regular work was reduced from 15 days in 1961 census to one week in 1971 census. With halving the reference period, the number of workers was bound to decline.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

N. K. Sharda

During the period of twenty-six years Himachal Pradesh has taken big strides on the path of socio-economic development. Its present picture is completely different from the time when Himachal Pradesh came into being in 1948. The net-work of roads connecting different parts of the Pradesh and linking the State with the rest of the country has resulted in rapid socio-economic transformation which we shall discuss in the following pages.

Area and Population : Himachal Pradesh has an area of 55,673 Sq. kms. and a population of 34,60,434 according to 1971 Census. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute about 26.33 per cent of the total population, numbering 7, 69, 572 and 1, 41, 610 respectively. The composition of the population by sex ratio is as follows :

Year	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Females per 1,000 males	890	897	890	912	938	974

According to the 1971 Census, the total rural population was 32,18,544 and urban population was 2,41,890, the percentage being 93.0 and 7.0 respectively. Density of population during this period was 62 persons per Sq. km. About 36.82 per cent of the population of the State constitute the working class compared to the All-India average of 34 per cent.

A major portion of working population is engaged in agriculture (75.85%). These features of the population lead us to the following conclusions—(i) nearly one-fourth of the population is backward, socially as well as economically. The uplift of these classes is one of the most important socio-economic problems. (ii) A majority of the population lives in rural areas. To bring about its rapid socio-economic transformation the planners must give top priority to the rural sector in all spheres of planning. Urban development should not be at the cost of rural progress. (iii) Nearly three-fourths of the total population is engaged in the

agricultural sector. Efforts should be made by the Government to release surplus labour from this sector. Adequate employment opportunities should be created in the other sectors to absorb this released labour.

Agriculture : Agriculture is the mainstay of the State's economy. As a matter of fact, agriculture here is not merely an occupation, but an established tradition and an accepted way of life. Agriculture happens to be the premier source of the State's income. According to the available estimates agriculture alone (excluding animal husbandry, forestry and fishery) accounts for nearly 42.35 per cent of the total income of the State (1969-70 at current prices). If the sub-sectors of agriculture are also taken into consideration, this percentage will go up to 62.19.

With such a large percentage of population depending upon agriculture, there is naturally an excessive pressure on land and consequently marginal land is also brought under the plough. The menacing problem of soil erosion is rampant and every year an unestimated volume of valuable soil is washed away by rains. The per capita holding of arable land is less than one hectare. Under these circumstances return from agriculture to the farmer is meagre.

According to the compound growth rates of production computed by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, Himachal Pradesh has achieved the highest compound growth rate in the production of food grains among all the States and Union Territories from 1960-61 to 1970-71. This higher growth rate is the result of continuous extension of area under high yielding varieties in the Pradesh. The area under such varieties increased from 99.95 thousand hectares in 1969-70 to 201.00 thousand hectares in 1971-72. The total production of food grains was likely to go upto 11.00 lakh tonnes during 1973-74; thereby leaving a deficit of 1.16 lakh tonnes which would be wiped out during Fifth Plan period. In view of the agro-climatic conditions of the State, the production of cash crops like potatoes, ginger and vegetable seeds can be increased. Himachal Pradesh is the largest seed potato supplier and the second largest ginger producer in the country. Special efforts are being made to increase the production of off-season vegetables.

The irrigation facilities in the Pradesh are altogether different from those in the plains. *Kuhls* are the main source of irrigation,

although in some low-lying areas wells constitute a major source of irrigation. Up to 1968-69 only 16 percent of the net sown area was irrigated. Thus a major part of cultivated area was dependent on rains. The average rainfall in the state varies from 45 cms. in Lahaul and Spiti to 283 cms. in the Kangra district. To increase the area under irrigation, the Government has taken in hand minor irrigation schemes like lift irrigation, flow irrigation and the construction of tube-wells.

The major area under cultivation is shallow and stony. It is not possible to increase foodgrains production through extensive margin. Efforts are, therefore, afoot to increase production through intensive margin. High-yielding varieties and multiple cropping programme have been introduced in the valley areas of the State. The mixed farming programme, already in progress, has made a breakthrough in traditional farming. Two projects in collaboration with the Federal Republic of Germany are in operation for the purpose of integrated farming. Steps are being taken to make available to the farmers agricultural inputs like fertilizers, compost, farm yard manure, green manuring, high-yielding varieties of seeds, irrigation facilities, plant protection facilities, improved implements and multiple cropping. For the development of cash crops constant endeavour is being made to improve the production. Central Potato Research Institute, Simla, has developed high-yielding potato seed. Emphasis is laid on the grading of potatoes. The cultivation of ginger has been extended to Mandi and Kangra districts. New crops like soyabean, sunflower and hops are gaining popularity. Intensive Agricultural District Programme was launched in Mandi district in 1962. It is one of the best composite and integrated agricultural projects in the country. With a view to uplifting the small farmers a body, under the name of Small Farmer's Development Agency, has been established. The object of this agency is to identify the problems of small farmers and to assist them in taking up agricultural production on scientific lines and starting diversified allied programmes.

Progress in agriculture can easily be recognised if we go through the financial allocations for the development of this sector through the four Five-Year Plans. The following table displays these allocations and expenditures.

Table 14·1
Outlay and Expenditure on Agricultural Programmes*

(Rs. in Lakhs)			
S. No.	Plan	Outlay	Expenditure
1.	First Plan (1951-56)	120.27	73.81
2.	Second Plan (1956-61)	218.53	251.27
3.	Third Plan (1961-66)	649.00	769.15
4.	Annual Plan (1966-67)	279.16	155.38
5.	Annual Plan (1967-68)	459.00	305.16
6.	Annual Plan (1968-69)	376.00	278.87
7.	Fourth Plan (1969-74)	3,000.00	2,814.82

*Agricultural Programmes include—Agricultural Production, Consolidation of Holdings, Minor Irrigation, Animal Husbandry, Forests, Soil Conservation and Fisheries.

The outlay on agricultural programmes during the Fifth-Plan will be Rs. 4919.00 lakhs. The first year of Fifth Plan, i.e., 1974-75, envisages an outlay of Rs. 827.00 lacs for agricultural programmes.

On the basis of the above-mentioned financial allocations we may conclude that in each successive Plan a great deal of money has been spent for the development of agriculture. This investment has yielded good dividends also. Foodgrains and cash crops' production have gone up. However, the geographical conditions of the Pradesh are such as little scope exists for agricultural development at nominal investment. That is why the State Government has been paying increasing attention to horticulture.

Horticulture : As mentioned earlier, large variations in climatic and soil types present suitable agro-climatic conditions for the growing of fruits, varying from the tropical to the temperate fruits and consequently immense possibilities of horticulture development exist in the Pradesh. The State Government has given incentives to the horticulturists in the form of financial aid, road development, marketing and storage facilities, subsidies, etc. Government has introduced horticulture training schemes and a decision has been taken to set up a chain of cold storages and canning units.

Forests : Forests cover nearly 38.5, per cent of the total area of the State and are a potential source of revenue to the State

exchequer. Their importance increases in view of the fast flowing rivers in steep hilly areas. They conserve soil and ensure longevity of multipurpose and hydro-electric projects. Forests also have great impact on socio-economic conditions of the State. They are an important source of employment for the labour force. They offer vast scope for the setting-up of a number of forest-based industries like resin and turpentine industries, activated carbon industries, joinery articles, veneering and plywood, pencil slate, bobbins and shuttles pulp and paper industry, furniture and news-print industries. If this potential is properly exploited there will take place rapid industrialisation in the State.

Industries : Himachal Pradesh is an industrially backward State. According to the official estimates, the percentage income by industrial origin from mining, manufacture and small enterprises during 1969-70 formed only 6.93 per cent of the total domestic product. An explanation of industrial backwardness is to be found in the difficulties faced in industrialisation. Lack of adequate means of transport and communication, due to peculiar geographical and topographical conditions, presents the biggest obstacle. The competitive power of domestic industrial output is weakened by the high cost of transportation. Absence of overhead facilities, shortage of capital and equipment and non-availability of skilled labour are responsible for industrial backwardness to a large extent. Above all, despite all the incentives of the Government, there exists a dearth of entrepreneurship in the State. People are illiterate and lack mobility. They do not want to leave agriculture and set up industries. Whatever industrial development has taken place, it is due to the initiative of entrepreneurs from outside the State. An undiversified and predominantly agricultural economy needs to be stepped up and placed on a balanced plane by providing sources of additional income through industrial enterprise and exploitation of the vast mineral resources in the Pradesh which have remained unexploited for long.

Education : Himachal Pradesh has made a phenomenal progress in the field of education. The literacy percentage in the Pradesh which was 7.7 during 1950-51 has gone up to 31.32 (according to the 1971 Census). This percentage is higher than the all India average. The total institutions functioning in the State numbered 316 against which our figures at the end of Fourth Plan were expected to be 22 degree colleges, 480 high/higher secondary

schools, 890 middle schools and 3,880 primary schools in the Pradesh. The State is still lagging behind in the field of college education. As such there is still greater scope for its expansion as also demand for opening new colleges.

Public Health : At the time of its birth the State inherited only 88 hospitals and dispensaries, mostly ill-equipped and understaffed. Now the number of medical institutions has gone upto 689. With a view of providing adequate medical facilities within the easy reach of people, efforts are being made to increase the number of sub-centres with each primary health centre which would look after the population of about one thousand per sub-centre.

With a view to arresting the rapid growth of population family planning programme was introduced long back. These measures have been intensified in recent years. Accordingly contraceptives are being distributed and free family planning advice is being imparted through medical institutions. For eradicating malaria, the National Malaria Eradication Programme has been continuing in Himachal Pradesh since 1953-54. National Small Pox Eradication Programme was launched in the Pradesh in 1962. For the control of venereal diseases, one V. D. hospital and 67 V. D. clinics/units continue functioning. For the control of leprosy there are 61 leprosy control units with adequate indoor accommodation and 59 leprosy clinics/subclinics functioning in the state. Under the Tuberculosis Control Programme there are in all 4 T. B. Sanatoria and 13 T. B. Clinics/Sub-Clinics with a capacity of 1,049 beds.

The State has a medical college at Simla which started functioning in the year 1966. During the years 1966 and 1967 fifty students in each year were admitted to M.B.B.S. course. From 1968 the number of seats has been increased to 60. Upto December, 1973, in all 149 students qualified the final M.B.B.S. examination.

Rural Water Supply : The main sources of drinking water in the Pradesh are the deep-flowing **nallahs** and springs. The villagers have to fetch water from long distances. They sometimes even collect rain-water in small ponds for drinking purposes which is evidently most unhygienic. Thus the problem of water supply in the region is very acute and drinking water facilities are available only in small number of villages. Water supply through gravitation to villages situated at higher altitudes is very expensive and not

easily possible. It is, however heartening to note that vigorous programmes have been taken up by the State Government for providing a large number of villages with water supply. So far 3454 villages covering a population of 7.57 lakhs forming 23.5 per cent of the total rural population have been provided with piped drinking water facilities. It is expected that by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, piped drinking water facility will be available to about 17 lakh people.

Welfare of Backward Classes : For a rapid socio-economic transformation of the State adequate attention needs to be paid to the various programmes directed towards the amelioration of economic conditions and social uplift of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Department of Welfare has been looking after the implementation of developmental programmes for these classes.

Under various schemes scholarships are being given to the students from these classes. These scholarships are awarded for studying in schools and colleges—both technical and non technical. The total number of scholarships to be awarded during Fourth Five Year Plan was likely to be 33,491. Ten cosmopolitan hostels and 4 ashram schools will be opened during the current plan period. Members of these communities are eligible for housing subsidies at the rate of Rs. 1,500 per family in the areas having heavy snowfall and upto Rs. 1200 in other areas, provided at least 25 per cent of the cost is borne by beneficiary.

Employment Situation : The percentage of the workers in total population of the State is 36.8, the percentage of working population for the country as a whole is 33.5, the percentage of women workers is 21.4 which is quite high as compared to 13.2 for the country as a whole. The majority of these workers are engaged in agriculture and allied sectors.

The average daily employment in registered factories in the State has increased from 8,079 in 1968 to 12,022 in 1971. At the end of December 1971 there were about 2.02 lakh persons employed in the public and private sectors in Himachal Pradesh. Of this, the public sector accounted for 1.89 lakhs and the private sector numbered for 0.13 lakhs. The absence of reliable sources of estimates of unemployment has been a major handicap for a realistic assessment of the employment situation in the Pradesh. As such a composite picture of employment market conditions prevailing in the Pradesh has to be built up at regular intervals on the basis of

employment situation in the Pradesh during the last few years. According to these figures there were 54 thousand unemployed persons in December, 1972. Out of these 21 thousand were educated unemployed including 18 thousand matriculates.

To tackle the problem of the educated unemployment in the Pradesh, the Planning Commission has approved 32 schemes under its 'half a million jobs' scheme for educated unemployed. For this a sum of Rs. 60 lakhs was provided for the entire country. Himachal Pradesh got Rs. 5 lakhs. A target of creating 6,000 jobs has been fixed by the Government. In all, a sum of Rs. 3.59 crores had been provided during 1973-74 for the removal of unemployment.

Price Situation : Prices in Himachal Pradesh rose at a faster rate as compared to the neighbouring States and on the all-India level according to the price-indices compiled by the Government of India. The indices which covered the seven-year period beginning from 1965, reveal that prices in Himachal Pradesh went up by 61 per cent while the increase in all India price level was 47 per cent. The upward trend noticed in Haryana (Yamuna Nagar) during the same period was 58 and Panjab (Amritsar) 55 per cent.

A detailed study shows that while during 1966 upward trend of prices was keeping in pace with trends all over the country as also the neighbouring States, the year 1967 witnessed a very steep rise, viz., 23 per cent which was the outcome of an abnormal rise in food prices following the exclusion of the State from the Panjab zone. A commodity-wise study shows that while the index for food stuffs went up from 100 in 1965 to 165 in seven years, fuel and light rose by 46 per cent, housing by 23 per cent, intoxicants, **pan supari**, tobacco registered the maximum rise, i.e., from 100 to 201.

State and Per Capita Income : State and per capita income estimates are indispensable tools for analysing past economic development as also for development planning. In order to assess the growth of State income or rather State Domestic Product (S.D.P.) we shall first study S.D.P. estimates of old Himachal Pradesh for the period, and the second phase will relate to the present larger Himachal Pradesh for the years 1966-67 onwards.

The S. D. P. of old Himachal Pradesh increased from Rs. 26.49 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 40.20 crores in 1965-66 at constant prices. Thus during a period of 15 years, the S. D. P. recorded

an increase of 51.7 per cent. The average annual trend growth rate so worked out is 4.6 per cent in Himachal Pradesh during 1950-51 to 1955-56. But population during 1951-61 rose by 17.9 per cent and during 1961-71 by 21.8 per cent. The growth rate in the economy is, therefore, considerably reduced, if measured on a per capita basis. The average growth rate of per capita basis. The average growth rate of per capita income at 1950-51 prices is estimated at 1.8 per cent per annum. In specific figures, the per capita income of Himachal Pradesh was Rs. 240 in 1950-51. It rose upto Rs. 281 in 1961-62 which was a bumper crop year, but during 1965-66 it virtually came down to the 1950-51 level, because of drought. In 1964-65, it was, of course, Rs. 265.

On the basis of figures of S. D. P. for 1967-68 to 1969-70 at constant 1960-61 prices, the trend growth rate of the economy of the present Himachal Pradesh works out to 3.3 per cent per annum. In terms of per capita income, this rate was 1.3 per cent per annum. S. D. P. for the period 1969-70, at current prices, stood at Rs. 187.23 crores and 107.03 crores at 1960-61 prices. Per capita income for the same period at current prices was Rs. 563 and Rs. 322 at 1960-61 prices.

S. D. P. figures are considered to be the most appropriate indicator of the welfare of the people. Our figures reveal a sufficient increase in S. D. P. from 1950 to 1970. This increase in the income of the State manifests itself in a higher standard of living of the masses. Such a higher standard will ensure better socio-economic conditions.

Communications : The socio-economic backwardness of the Pradesh is mainly the outcome of inadequate means of communication. Roads are the only life-line of the people of this State as there are only two railways and practically no water-ways to cater to the need of transportation of man and material.

There were only 43 kms. of metalled and 137 kms. of un-metalled roads in 1950-51. Since then the Government has been giving high priority to the development of roads. The total road length (other than national highways) in the State increased from 3,715 kms. in 1965 to 12,362 kms. in 1973. Road length of national highways on 31st March, 1973 was 464 kms. Though the Pradesh has the best net work of roads was only 11.48 kms. per 100 sq. kms. of the area as compared to 30 kms. in the country as a whole. This is so despite the fact that the State Government has been

spending about 30 per cent of its plan outlay on road development. Obviously road building costs much more in the hills than in plains.

At present there are two narrow gauge railway lines in the State, one joining it to Panjab and running between Pathankot and Joginder Nagar, while the other connects the Pradesh with Haryana and runs between Kalka and Simla. The aggregate length of these railway lines is about 140 kms. The Government of India has recently cleared the Nagal-Talwara railway scheme. The only waterway useful for transport is the Gobind Sagar Lake.

At the present rate of plan allocation for roads, it will take decades for the state to reach the all-India level in the matter of road development. Consequently the pace of development will also not be very high. The rapid development of roads needs special grants by the Centre. The Central Government should consider sympathetically this genuine requirement of this backward region.

The foregoing pages lead us to the conclusion that during the last two decades Himachal Pradesh has undergone a rapid socio-economic transformation. We have a bright future ahead in view of a vast potential for the development of horticulture, tourism, forest and mineral-based industries. What is needed is co-ordination between Government plans and the efforts of people.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

N. K. Sharda

Himachal Pradesh as a distinct entity came into being on April 15, 1948, with the merger of 30 erstwhile Panjab Hill States. On the eve of the formation of the Pradesh, the integrated States were in different stages of economic and social development. Planned development was, in fact, unknown in the erstwhile princely hill States. Planning as an instrument of development was adopted in Himachal Pradesh in 1952 after the formal inauguration of the Five-Year Plans at the national level. The broad objectives during the various plans have been in consonance with the national objectives.

Himachal Pradesh is predominantly an agricultural State. The development of agriculture is given a special attention for obvious reasons. Against this, industry and mining had a limited scope in the past due to lack of research and development facilities in the State. The creation of social and economic overheads entails high costs due to which industrial progress could not be achieved. However, with the beginning of the Fourth Plan, the Government started paying more attention towards industrial development and mineral exploitation. Being a pre-requisite for economic development road-building has been eating up the major part of the total plan expenditure. Despite its vast power potential, the state has not been able to generate sufficient power. The main reason for this is the inadequacy of funds to undertake such big projects of long-term gestation. The shortage of finance has forced the State to rely on the benevolence of the Government of India. Although the Sixth Finance Commission, appointed by the Government of India, recommended a special attention for the developmental programmes in the hilly States like Himachal Pradesh, yet the Central Government has not been able to show any great generosity towards such regions. This can be understood from the fact that the outlay for the Fifth Plan proposed by the State Government was Rs. 329.29 crores, but it was reduced to Rs. 231.40 crores, by the Centre.

Plan Investment

Himachal Pradesh remained a Union Territory until January

1971. Up to this period the Central Government financed its plan on a 100 per cent basis. However, after attaining statehood the pattern of assistance has changed. Now the State has to finance a large part of its plans from its own resources. The pattern of Central assistance, barring the two border districts of Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur, where it is 90 per cent grant and 10 per cent loan, is fixed at 30 per cent grants and 70 per cent loans. In different plans rising investment was made in the public sector. The following table gives the size of the various plans and the per capita investment in the public sector in Himachal Pradesh.

Table 15.1

Plan Outlay Expenditure and Per Capita Investment in Public Sector

Plan period	Investment (Rs. Crores)	Estimated mid-period popula- tion (In Lakhs)	Per Capita Plan Investment (Rs.)	
			Plan period 5 years	Per annum
First Five-year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-1956).	5.27	11.68	45.12	9.02
Second Five-year Plan (1956-1957 to 1960-1961).	16.03	12.90	124.26	24.85
Third Five-year Plan (1961-62 to 1965-66).	33.84	34.33	236.15	47.23
Annual Plans (1966-67 to 1968-69).	39.75	32.18	123.52	41.17
Fourth Five-year Plan (1969-70 to 1973-74).	114.39	34.96	327.20	65.44
Fifth Five-Year Plan* (1974-75 to (1978-79).	231.40	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

*Figures for the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans indicate outlays and not actual expenditure.

With a view to analysing the priorities given to the various sectors in different plans we must go through the figures showing sectoral break-up of expenditure. The following table explains the break-up.

Table 15'2
Sectoral Break-up of Plan Outlay/Expenditure

Sector	(Rs. in Lakhs)				
	I Plan	II Plan	III Plan	IV Plan	V Plan
1. Agricultural Programmes	73.81 (14.0)	251.27 (15.7)	769.41 (22.7)	736.41 (18.5)	4919.00 (21.2)
2. Co-operation & C. D.	74.13 (14.1)	238.27 (14.8)	350.45 (10.3)	179.60 (4.5)	635.00 (2.7)
3. Irrigation and power	21.59 (4.0)	150.69 (9.4)	240.14 (7.1)	1111.64 (28.0)	4945.00 (21.4)
4. Transport and Communica- tion	243.54 (46.1)	595.22 (37.1)	1191.10 (35.2)	1351.03 (34.0)	5540.00 (23.9)
5. Industry and Mining	8.88 (1.7)	39.50 (2.5)	84.16 (2.5)	126.43 (3.2)	905.00 (3.9)
6. Social services	104.98 (20.0)	308.36 (19.3)	716.27 (21.2)	459.67 (11.6)	5598.00 (24.3)
7. Miscellaneous	0.32 (0.1)	19.29 (1.2)	33.20 (1.0)	10.43 (0.2)	598.00 (2.6)
TOTAL	527.25	1602.60	3384.73	3975.21	23140.00

Note—Figures in brackets indicate percentage of the total outlay during each plan. These figures when added vertically give 100 in each case.

The sectoral break-up of outlay over the various plans gives us an idea of plan priorities in the State. Most part of the outlay in each subsequent plan has gone to the sectors falling under the category of infrastructure which includes transport and communications, power and social services like education and health. The pattern has remained nearly the same in all the plans. In fact, the development of an infrastructure was a primary necessity, for without it the other productive sections of the State could never develop. The Fourth Plan witnessed some changes in priorities. Agriculture claimed the maximum outlay. The reasons for this allocation were (i) agriculture being the mainstay of more than 75 per cent of the population needs more expenditure for development and (ii) horticulture emerging as one of the leading modern sectors. Moreover, the existing infrastructure can be utilised only when sufficient investment is made in directly productive sectors like agriculture, industry, mining, forestry, etc. Initially there is bound to be idle capacity in the social overheads sector in the form of roads and transport network remaining unutilised, power, sources of irrigation, education and health facilities remaining unused or underused. To avoid this idle capacity situation, the productive sectors must be developed without loss of time.

From this point of view the change in sectoral allocation in the Fourth Plan was a welcome step. However, the plan outlay for industry and mining appears to be much less than this sector deserves. Faster growth of industry and mining alone could help in the proper utilisation of the existing infrastructure facilities. Moreover, the agricultural sector is already in saturation. Increasing labour force can be absorbed in industry and other sectors. Industrialisation is necessary for an accelerated pace of growth of other sectors like forestry, mining and agriculture. Local raw materials can be utilised.

The resource endowment of the State reflects a vital scope for industrialisation, especially in the medium and small sectors.

Sectoral Programmes and Progress :

In this section we shall examine the sectoral programmes and analyse their progress under the first four Five-Year Plans. Since it is not possible to take up all the sectors we shall deal with the important sectors only.

Agriculture : Agriculture is the most important sector of the economy in terms of both employment and income generated.

Agriculture in Himachal Pradesh has tended to be progressively divided into two sub-sectors, much more than perhaps elsewhere in the country. On the one hand, we have traditional agriculture with its attendant technique and production mix; on the other hand, there is relatively modernised and hence more profitable activity called horticulture. The former chiefly includes cereal production and the latter fruits, vegetables and seed potatoes cultivation. The growth of the former is to some extent constrained by limitations of topography and the nearly inelastic supply of additional land. The latter promises to be the chief fountain-head of growth in the future.

In the light of these peculiar characteristics of agriculture in Himachal Pradesh the objective of planning has been to bring about structural changes within agriculture, with cereal farming receiving relatively smaller attention, while horticulture has been made the focus of attention. This would be clear from the fact that during the Second Plan, while it was proposed to increase cereal production by 19 per cent the production of seed potatoes was proposed to be increased by 472 per cent. This gap existed in successive plans. During 1966-67 to 1973-74 the production of food grains increased from 6.95 lakh tonnes to 11.00 lakh tonnes. The production of fruits for the same period increased from 45.37 thousand tonnes to 240.57 thousand tonnes. Although such a strategy would be justified on the grounds of resource endowment of the State which favours such a structural change in the economy, its social costs should not be ignored. A greater balance should be struck between cereal production and horticulture to the extent that the growth of production of the former can be fostered at a reasonable cost.

Due to a favourable climate the production of foodgrains increased by 60 per cent during the First Plan. Since then it registered a slow increase. Taking 1956-57 as the base an Agricultural Year=100, the production of foodgrains during 1956-57 to 1972-73 increased by 52.26% and of all crops by 53.15%. The index of productivity of foodgrains for the same period went up by 45.1%, and it went up by 45.4% for all crops foodgrains and non-foodgrains.

Agricultural production cannot increase sufficiently so long as irrigation facilities are not available for cultivable land. Unfortunately the State Government has not done much in this field. Thus between the beginning of the First Plan and the end of Third

Plan the net area irrigated increased marginally from 37,800 hectares to 38,900 hectares. These figures are not comparable with the figures for subsequent periods during which the area of the State nearly doubled. The consumption of fertilizers is picking up. A major part of the fertilizers is used in horticulture. The per hectare consumption of fertilizers has increased from 3.3 kg in the year 1967-68 to 6.3 kg. during the Fourth Plan period in the case of Nitrogen.

Although the production of non-food crops and fruits has gone up, marketing is still a problem that needs attention. Institutional arrangements for marketing seem to have been left unplanned. The World Bank Project is likely to make a major breakthrough for easing marketing difficulties.

Forestry : Forestry is one of the chief sources of all non-tax sources of income to the State, according to the budget estimates of 1973-1974. Forestry is labour intensive in nature. Thus it provides a good source of employment to the labourers.

During the First Five-Year Plan, an outlay of Rs. 11.6 lakhs was allocated to this sector. Between 1956-57 and 1969-70, the value of timber increased about 22 times and the value of gums and resins increased three times. The forest development programme in the past plans has included schemes for the extension of forestry, survey and demarcation of forests, development of pastures, minor forest produce and the plantation of quick-growing species for soil conservation. More than half of the forest area is still unproductive and heavily burdened with rights and is being used for grazing cattle. It is necessary to rehabilitate such vast tracts of land both from productive and protective aspects. Inadequate utilisation of the forest output in the industrial sector has created inter-sectoral imbalance in the productive sectors. This has affected the development of both the sectors to a large extent.

During the Fourth Plan due attention has not been paid to this sector. The neglect of forest regeneration got aggravated because of unprecedented forest fires during the Plan. Forest felling has also been more than normally prescribed in the working Plans. There is, therefore, a need to step up afforestation during the Fifth Plan.

Transport and Communication : We have already discussed in the previous chapter the progress achieved in this sector since

1950-51. Here we shall focus our attention on the problems of road development and financial allocation. If we compare the sectoral break-up for the various sectors in Table 15.2, we shall at once find out that the priority assigned to transport and communication has remained on the top throughout the planning period in this Pradesh. By the end of the Fourth Plan, it is expected that the State will have about 16 kms. of roads per 100 Sq. kms. of area. But this road length is very small against the road Length of 64 kms. per 100 Sq. kms prescribed for hilly States like ours. Compared to the First Plan situation in roads we have made a substantial progress. There is, however, a great need for consolidating the gains made so far, besides opening more areas which are still inaccessible. The main difficulties faced in the construction and development of roads are the short working season, the non-availability of contractors and the scarcity of material. Apart from these the inherent difficulties in the construction and maintenance of roads in the region push up the cost of road development.

In the sphere of road transport Himachal Pradesh has not made very satisfactory progress. This is clear from the fact that the erstwhile Himachal Government Transport had been incurring losses for the last many years. The fleet strength of the Department as on 31st December, 1973 was 728 vehicles. The number of routes under operation in 1969 was 182 and went up to 250 in 1973. In 1974 H.G.T. was converted into a Road Transport Corporation. It was done with a view to bringing about more revenue and better service.

Power : Himachal Pradesh, which abounds in hilly streams, has a huge hydro-electric potential. While the total installed capacity at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan was only 359 kws, a number of major and minor electric generation schemes have been taken up since then and electricity generated in the State has increased from 952 thousand kws, in 1960-61 to 52,841 thousand kws in 1970-71. Electricity consumed for the same period increased from 3,010 thousand kws, to 1,11,964 thousand kws.

In the First Plan Rs. 21.59 lakh were spent on electrification programmes. The work of rural electrification was taken up more vigorously in the second plan period during which 670 villages were electrified. During the Third Plan 1,046 villages were

electrified. According to the final estimates of the Fourth Plan 3855 villages were to be electrified by the end of this plan. Rural electrification in the interiors of the Pradesh envisages a number of problems. The Rural Electrification Corporation reluctantly provided the funds as it found the viability criteria for these areas to be uneconomical.

The major and medium hydel schemes which have been investigated partly or fully are understood to have an installed capacity of 5,490 N. W. The estimated cost of these schemes is about Rs. 900 crores (with possible escalation in cost.) Keeping in view the marginal increase in percentage expenditure in this sector, one cannot visualise starting any of the major projects in the next plan. Out of a total outlay of Rs. 114.38 crores for the Fourth Plan Rs. 15.44 crores were allocated for power generation. However, the expenditure is likely to be Rs. 23.32 crores. Since the power shortage is felt in the entire northern region and the development of hydel potential in Himachal Pradesh is in the interest of the region as a whole, the Government of India should allocate adequate funds for power generation by disregarding the present norms of State Plan allocations or by earmarking special funds for hydel generation.

In view of the scarcity of financial resources and the acute shortage of power, the State Government should judiciously pick up the most feasible hydel projects and launch them for execution so that benefits start flowing at least partially by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Education : Education plays a vital role in the economic development of society. The newly formed Pradesh had only 4.8 per cent literacy according to the 1951 census. With this background of appalling illiteracy and paucity of trained teachers, it was a difficult task to reorganise and develop education in the State. The Government had, therefore, to prepare integrated plans for proper housing and equipment of the existing schools besides the expansion of educational facilities. The education scene has undergone a noticeable transformation. The literacy percentage of the State has gone up to 31.32 according to the 1971 census. This is higher than all the India literacy percentage.

In the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan there was only one college, 25 high schools, 94 middle schools and 427 primary schools in the State. Against these the figures at the end of the

Fourth Plan were expected to be as follows : 22 degree colleges, 480 high and higher secondary schools, 890 middle schools and 3880 primary schools and one university. It is expected that by the end of the current plan period 86 per cent of the children in the age-group of 6-11 will be attending primary schools and over-54 per cent in the age group of 11-14 will be attending middle schools.

Industries : Himachal Pradesh is one of the most difficult areas for building up a sound industrial base. The geographical and topographical features of the State act as major impediments in industrial development. Today we find this sector to be the weakest link in the development planning of the Pradesh. This is so despite the completion of four Five-Year Plans.

The expenditure on industry and mining during the First Plan was Rs. 8.8 Lakhs. It constituted only 1.7 per cent of the total expenditure. The percentage increase in expenditure on this sector has been very small throughout the Plan period. The Fourth Plan outlay for this sector was Rs. 5.08 crores, which constituted 4.5 per cent of the total outlay. Unfortunately the State Government has decided to curtail percentage outlay on this sector in the Fifth Plan. Instead there should have been a considerable increase in financial allocation on this sector since we have developed an infrastructure for industrial progress.

All this should not lead us to the conclusion that this sector will remain undeveloped for a long time to come. Its future is, in fact, brighter than that of many other sectors because of the vast natural resources, cheap power and labour, and excellent industrial climate. However, it will take time to make a breakthrough. Industrial production in items like foundry castings, resin and turpentine has increased considerably during the past few years. As regards the development of large and medium industries the Government has been trying to modernise the existing industries. 38.10 lakhs were spent during the first four years of the Fourth Plan on the expansion and modernisation of Nahan Foundry Ltd. A fertilizer company is expected to go in production in the near future and a cement plant at Rajban is being set up. The State Government has set up four corporations to speed up industrial production and mineral exploitation. A new forest policy has been framed in order to give a filip to industries. The Government has announced certain concessions for entrepreneurs who set up industries in Himachal Pradesh.

Some progress has been registered in small and medium sectors also. The total steel re-rolling capacity of the State stood at 20,000 tonnes of steel per year in 1974. A terpene chemical plant has been established at Kala Amb and a few electrical industries are likely to be set up during the Fifth Plan. The Government of India has given certain concessions like road freight subsidy for the development of small industries in the State. A number of industrial estates are proposed to be developed.

In more broad terms, the domestic income of the State increased by about 1.4% and 4.8% p.a. during the First and the Second Plan periods. There was a short fall down to 2.9% p.a. during the Third Plan. The period 1966-67 to 1969-70 witnessed as much as 6% per annum increase in the State income.

Fourth Plan Experience :

We have mentioned above the likely achievements in major sectors of the economy during the Fourth Plan. In the absence of final figures it will be unreasonable to comment upon any aspect of planning. However a number of factors responsible for short-falls in the physical targets of the Fourth Plan may be discussed here in the light of the mid-term appraisal of this Plan.

An appraisal of the State's Fourth Plan which was undertaken in August 1971 revealed certain inter-sectoral imbalances in the economy. Expenditure on social services sector was found to be inadequate. Therefore priority sectors were reset and expenditure on special services was increased considerably during the last two years of the Fourth Plan.

Roads have been assigned top priority during the past planning period. But investment in transport has not been commensurate with road-building, with the result that some sort of imbalance has crept in between the two. Returns from road investment can be made good only by increasing transport facilities. The State Transport Corporation would be able to deliver the goods only if it improves upon the working of the erstwhile Himachal Government Transport—a State-owned body.

Again, in the field of horticulture, imbalances were noticed between the production and the marketing of fruits. Undue emphasis was laid upon the extension of the area under fruits in the Fourth Plan. This imbalance is likely to be removed because the World Bank Project is expected to take necessary steps for increasing the marketing facilities in this sector in the near future.

The rural electrification programme has been taken up with great enthusiasm in Himachal Pradesh. But the targets and approach for its implementation proved to be ill-planned as the transmission and distribution lines lagged behind the generation of power in the State. This imbalance, if not removed, will force the State to sell its power at a very cheap rate to Panjab as is happening at present.

Although the percentage of literacy is higher in the State than in the country as a whole, we have not been able to improve upon the qualitative side of education. We are also lagging behind many other States in higher education. In addition, adequate attention has not been paid to the education of girls, accomodation for schools, and well-equipped libraries and laboratories. These need to be attended to.

In agriculture and allied sectors progress in warehousing, marketing and storage facilities was much less than desired. Lack of coordination was detected in minor irrigation and drinking water schemes on the one hand and irrigation and agricultural programmes on the other. Multiple cropping, the consumption of chemical fertilizers and soil conservation lag behind schedule. On the industrial side of the economy there exists a large idle capacity in medium and small sectors. All these imbalances need to be corrected as early as possible lest they assume unmanageable proportions in the future.

Besides the above-mentioned inter-sectoral imbalances, a number of intra-State imbalances were detected and preventive measures are being taken to correct them. In fact, due to a combination of historical, territorial and natural factors some areas are bound to lag behind in economic development unless there is a conscious effort by the planning authority to remove such regional imbalances. The Himachal Pradesh Government took a decision to prepare and implement separate plans for the two border and backward districts of the State, viz. Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur, during the Fourth Plan. Recently Bharmour and Pangi, Chotta and Bara Bhangal, Dodra Kwar, Pandra-Bish, Kashpat, Manali, Ujhi, outer Seraj, trans-Giri tract and Chohar Valley have been identified as backward in the Pradesh which need special attention of the State and Central Governments for development purposes. Area development plans as visualised by the Planning Commission cannot be implemented in such backward regions due

to small population. However, the so-called critical minimum development programme will go a long way in improving the lot of the inhabitants of these areas. This critical minimum programme will provide a large-scale expansion of the existing infrastructure. The Deputy Commissioners have been given the charge of preparing district plans. They have been asked to pay adequate attention to backward areas in their districts. Separate allocation of funds under various sectors for these areas has been proposed during the Fifth Plan.* It is, doubtful whether the State Government, with its very limited resources, will be able to do something positive in the field of providing infrastructural facilities in view of the colossal cost involved. It is here that the Government of India should help the State financially.

With a view to ensuring an integrated development of every part of each district the State Government has decided to prepare separate plans for each of its twelve districts in the Fifth Plan. This will ensure a balanced and integrated development for the entire State. District Plans have two objectives, namely (i) a long-term perspective plan expanding over 15 to 20 years indicating the activities to be undertaken in respect of infrastructure facilities, social services and the growth of regulated markets, and (ii) an integrated programme of action for the next five years on the basis of a careful analysis of the existing conditions and the realistic assessment of the problems and available resources.

THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

Objectives and Strategy : The basic objectives of planned economic development in India are related to the Directive Principles of State policy. These enjoin upon the Government to ensure to all citizens the right to an adequate means of living and to distribute the national income and wealth in such a manner as best to subserve the common good. In addition, the Government is expected to plan its activities so as to promote social services like education, medical and public health facilities, labour welfare, etc. The promotion of the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been given high priority. All our Plans have been formulated in the light of these objectives. Of course, the secondary objectives are bound to change during the various plans in view of the national requirements.

* For details see Annexure-II (Statement II), *Fifth Five Year Plan—A Draft Outline*, Government of Himachal Pradesh,

The removal of poverty and the attainment of economic self-reliance are the two major goals which the country has planned to accomplish during the Fifth Plan. The removal of poverty emphasises the need to evolve a redistributive mechanism which ensures more benefits of development in favour of the weaker sections of society. Self-reliance calls for an increase in production at least equal to the shortfalls in our domestic requirements.

Since the broad objectives of the State Plans have been in consonance with the objectives of national Plans, it is relevant to examine the desirability of giving top priority to the objectives of the removal of poverty and the attainment of economic self-reliance in the State. In view of the objective of the removal of poverty there is no denying the fact that a substantial number of people in Himachal Pradesh live below the poverty line. More than three-fourths of the population of the State is engaged in primitive agriculture and is not able to get two square meals a day. The high cost of living due to geographical conditions and the sky-rocketing prices have made the situation worse. It is, therefore, proposed to launch a massive drive to ensure growth with social justice in the Pradesh. The State Government intends implementing the following Basic Minimum Needs Programme for which an outlay of Rs. 44.03 crores has been tentatively approved by the Planning Commission. This programme includes elementary education for children up to the age of 14, minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for children, rural water supply, rural electrification and slum improvement in the larger towns. The implementation of this programme will go a long way in improving the lot of those who live below the poverty line.

In fact, the other objective, namely the attainment of economic self-reliance, has a direct relationship with the removal of poverty. One way to remove poverty is to invest money in social service schemes at the cost of directly productive sectors like industry and agriculture. If this policy is adopted, the objective of economic self-reliance will become a mirage in the desert, because adequate investment will not be made in this sector. Our sectoral break-up (in Table 15.2, Column VII) of the Fifth Plan speaks of this wrong strategy of the State planners. Instead heavy investment in directly productive sectors would have enabled the State to pay more attention to the poor by allocating most part of the increase in the State income for their welfare,

Plan Investment and Priorities

In the Fifth Five-Year Plan of Himachal Pradesh an outlay of Rs. 231.40 crores is envisaged. As will be clear from Table II, transport and communication, irrigation and power and agricultural programmes account for as much as 66.5 per cent of the total Fifth Plan outlay. In the field of agriculture the objective is to reduce dependence on the Central pool for foodgrains and become self-reliant by increasing productivity. Horticulture being the pride of the State will be given priority, with special emphasis on the marketing of the produce. Forests, which bring the highest revenue to the State, will also be reorganised on more scientific lines. In the field of agriculture, raw material oriented industries will be started.

The Fifth Plan which is being run for the period 1974-79, was launched on 1st April, 1974. On the basis of percentage allocation of outlay, priority sectors are (i) social services ; (ii) transport and communication ; (iii) irrigation and power and (iv) agriculture programmes. The mobilisation of resources during the Fifth Plan has to be done through the State's institutional finance, Central assistance, etc. The Government of India has already reduced the proposed total outlay of Rs. 323.29 crores to only 231.40 crores. The share of Central assistance has gone down from what it was expected to be. On the basis of the Fourth Plan experience we may hope to raise the State's resources to some extent, but to finance a major portion of the total outlay (Rs. 231.40 crores) will be a really difficult task in view of the limited sources of State income and institutional finance. Ultimately the State will have to be accommodated by the Government of India for providing additional resources. In adopting the same criteria for giving assistance the Central Government has not only to understand the difficulties of development in hilly areas as compared to the plains, but has also adopted double standards in giving aid to different hilly States. Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland get much more assistance from the Centre as compared to Himachal Pradesh. Therefore, the Fifth-Year Plan of Himachal Pradesh should mainly be financed by the Central Government.

We shall now consider in brief the targets and strategy for the various important sectors during the Fifth Plan.

Agriculture : On a rough estimate the State is deficient in

foodgrains to the extent of 1.16 lakh tonnes per annum. Most of this deficiency is at present being met from the reserves of the Central pool. Accordingly the main objective during the current Plan would be to reduce our dependence on this pool. This can be done by increasing production in the valley areas of the State where assured irrigation is available. Improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and scientific implements will go a long way in increasing production. The target of food production for the Fifth Plan has been kept at 13.50 lakh tonnes. Among non-food crops we would be touching a level of 1,25,000 tonnes of potatoes, 8,000 tonnes of ginger and 1,30,000 tonnes of vegetables by the end of the Fifth Plan.

Among the various schemes to be implemented during the Fifth Plan the most important are agricultural education and research, the extension and training of farmers' education, improved seed programmes, manures and fertilizers, plant protection, agricultural implements, intensive cultivation programme and commercial crops. Special attention is to be given to the problem of agricultural marketing.

Horticulture : The rate of progress in plantation and production during the Fourth Plan worked out to be 65% and 197% respectively. The Fifth Plan aims at consolidating the gains already made and to strive for a balanced development by taking care of the intra-sectoral imbalances. Scientific and planned plantation, efficient production management, the creation of an efficient marketing infrastructure and intensive area programmes will be taken up for the balanced promotion of this sector. To ensure a better price for the produce marketing facilities will be modernised. A special project to be financed by IBRD and to be executed by Himachal Pradesh Agro-Industries Corporation and Himachal Pradesh Public Works Department aims at integrating horticulture development and marketing.

The area under fruit production is proposed to be 69,105 hectares by the end of the Fifth Plan. The production of fruits will be 411.49 thousand tonnes for the same period. Some important schemes of horticultural development for this plan are horticultural training, extension and administration, horticulture credit, horticultural marketing and fruit utilisation, programme for border and backward areas, garden colonies, etc.

Forests : The Fifth Plan brings to an end the ad-hoc policies adopted for forest development in the past. It envisages to put forestry on a sounder footing with detailed forest surveys and adequate evaluation. Forest corporations will be set up to attract institutional finance. Pasture development has been assigned higher priority. The demarcation, survey and settlement of rights in undemarcated protected forests will be taken up. Intensification of scientific management of the existing forests would also be taken up. Emphasis would be laid on complete utilisation of the forest produce for industrial and agricultural purposes.

The target of economic plantation for industrial and commercial uses has been kept at 30 thousand hectares by the end of the Fifth Plan as against 5.57 thousand hectares during 1973-74. Farm forestry-cum-fuel wood plantation will be to the extent of 2.5 thousand hectares. 350 thousand hectares of forests will be consolidated.

Power : In view of vast hydro-electric potential in Himachal Pradesh and the virtual power famine in the neighbouring States, our all out effort would be to tap the available hydel potential to the extent possible without financial limitations during the Fifth Plan. The Giri Project will be completed in the early period of the Fifth Plan. It is estimated that by the close of this Plan the installed capacity would be 146 Mw. As regards electric generation it is estimated that the level likely to be achieved by the close of the Plan would be 586 million units.

Since our consumption of power is not commensurate with the generation in the State, surplus power would be made available to the neighbouring States. During the Fifth Plan it is expected that 35% of the population will be provided electricity in the villages. The task is not easy to be completed especially when the rural electrification programme of Himachal Pradesh does not fulfil the viability criteria of Rural Electrification Corporation which alone provides substantial loans for such projects throughout the country. Unfortunately the grants received for rural electrification have been utilised for other purposes by the State Electricity Board during the Fourth Plan. This practice should be discontinued.

The mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan brought out the imbalance between power generation and transmission and distribution. The Fifth Plan proposes to overcome this imbalance by locating its power houses within the State. This will reduce

transmission losses also. The transmission systems within the State are being so designed that primary voltage in the State would be 132 KV and sub-transmission voltage would be 33 KV. For large generation stations 220 KV system has been proposed which is the regional voltage line in the Northern region. It has been decided to continue the hydro-electric investigation programme during the Fifth and the Sixth Five Year Plans. According to the guidelines given by the Planning Commission, under this sector such programmes have to be taken up on priority basis which are of short-term gestation.

Industries and Mining : In the Fifth Five Year Plan of the State a sum of Rs. 9.05 crores has been sanctioned for industry and mining. This amount constitutes only 3.9 per cent of the total outlay. Obviously, industry and mining have been considered to be non-priority sectors.

The objectives of development of large and medium industries during the Fifth Plan would be to make the optimum utilisation of local raw materials, provide employment opportunities, to develop large and medium scale industries in public, joint and private sector, to divert the pressure from land to the industrial field, to make the best use of local capital and entrepreneurship, to strengthen the expertise in the service and functional reorganization in the Industries Department, to remove regional imbalances, etc. In the field of mining efforts will be made to intensify the mining service to make qualitative and quantitative assessment of the future planning. The under-writing and share capital participation of H. P. Mineral and Industrial Development Corporation will be increased considerably. Adequate expenditure will be made on the development of industrial areas and on giving incentives to large and medium industries. The share capital and loans of Nahan Foundry are also expected to go up. The H.P.M. I.D.C. would be able to establish in public or joint sector the following industries : (1) Worsted Spindle Mill, (2) Woollen Spindles, (3) Brewery Project, (4) Brandy and Vodka Project, (5) Distillery, (6) Cement Plant, (7) Steel Plant, (8) Television Sets Industry, (9) Glass Bottles, (10) Watch Project, (11) Nylon Filament Yarn Project and (12) Mini Steel Plant. As regards mining, it is proposed to strengthen the Geological Cell to enable it to carry out at accelerated pace the investigation of various minerals to assess their economic viability. Skilled technicians and geologists will be deputed to conduct the investigations. The minerals to be

investigated are limestone, glass-sand, gypsum, barytes, salt, copper, lead, silver, slates, etc.

The overall strategy for the development of village and small scale industries would be to encourage demand-based industries and the industries for which raw materials are locally available. Cottage industries would be given more importance in view of their employment potential for the underemployed villagers. Handicrafts will be developed and sustained. In low-lying valleys the potential of sericulture will be utilised to the extent possible. Effort would be made to rehabilitate the tea industry by replacement of degenerated tea plants, providing of subsidised manure, technical consultancy service for tea processing, etc.

Roads: The strategy of development of roads during the Fifth Plan covers (i) the completion of continuing works of the Fourth Plan to the extent possible, (ii) improvement and widening of the State highways, improvement of existing bridges, etc., (iii) construction of bridges, (iv) completion of missing links in on State highways, and (v) providing of a railway link from Jagadhri to Panta.

This sector has been assigned a very high priority during the Fifth Plan. The percentage outlay of this sector is 23.9 (Rs. 55.40 crores). The road length by the end of the Fifth Plan will be 1745 kms of double lane roads, single lane road length would be 7229 kms, jeepable road length would be 915 kms and total tracks would be 2667 kms long. It is proposed to take up cross-drainage work on 3641 kms of road length. Metalling and tarring will be taken upon for a road length of 2911 kms.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

HIMACHALI CULTURE

S. K. Gupta

Although one may have had glimpses of some aspects of Himachali Culture in the Second Chapter of the book, the main or the more important aspects will be dealt with in this chapter which is especially devoted to a discussion of the intellectual and aesthetic development Himachal made during the past centuries in the field of literature, art, sculpture, painting, music, etc.

Like other parts of the Himalayas which are comparatively less accessible than the plains, cultural influences from great civilizations reached Himachal only after a considerable time-lag, but, similarly, their survival in Himachal was prolonged by the relative geographical isolation of the region. Even today, in the great river valleys ringed by gigantic mountain ranges can be found traces of cultures which at places of their origin have long been superseded by the forms of later and newer civilizations. The masterpieces of ancient art preserved in the Himalayan monasteries and temples (It is in Himachal and Siwalik Hill ranges that most of the monasteries and temples are to be found.) reflect great periods in the history of Asia and the world in the same way as the ruins of Pompeii give an insight into the civilization of Rome at its height. But the crux of the question is : Which were the civilizations or religions that developed in Himachal or mainly influenced the cultural moorings of the people of this region ? Was it the culture of the people of the Indus Valley or of the semi-nomadic Indo-Aryans, who migrated to India about 2500 B. C. that found roots in the region. Neither of the two cultures singly laid the bed-rock of Himachali culture. It was Hinduism, which owes its origin jointly to the people of the Indus Valley culture and to the semi-nomadic Indo-Aryans, and its reformed off-shoots, Buddhism and Jainism, that became the basis of culture in Himachal, as in many other parts of India. Besides, the region was open to influences from other parts of Asia, including China, Iran, and more recently, Tibet.

But this is only the outer or broader frame of civilizations in which the culture of Himachal prospered. What were the inner

circles of frames or sub-cultures, sub-religions, sub-regions that guided the course of intellectual and aesthetic development in Himachal. Hindu culture is itself a very vast and diversified culture. Though there is unity in diversity, there is no uniformity. Different regions have different sub-cultures. One may find Panjabi culture different from that of Rajput, and Rajput culture different from Maharashtrian, and so on. Moreover, Hinduism has many gods, and each of these gods has many forms. So is the case with Buddhism, which also, with the passage of time, came to be divided into different schools and developed a pantheon of gods. Jainism, however, did not influence the region much. Now the question is : What were the Hindu gods and goddesses, and which particular forms of theirs were worshipped in Himachal ; which school of Buddhism flourished in the region, and which were the dynasties that held sway, partial or complete, over the region and affected from time to time the course of cultural development. Among Hindu gods, the most important are Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The last two, along with the goddess Shakti, are the most popular in the region. Shiva has got a special place among the people of the upper parts of Himachal, and he is worshipped both as a god of creative energy, and in his terrible aspects he is frequently evoked as a protector deity who will save the people from their enemies and from natural disasters. Vishnu, on the other hand, was worshipped in more peaceful and joyful forms in most of his ten incarnations, of which the two—Rama and Krishna—became the most important in later centuries. As regards Buddhism, from our point of view, it was its third school, Vajrayana that became most important in the upper parts of Himachal, especially in Lahaul and Spiti. From earliest times to the seventh century A.D. leaving aside 'the age of the Janapadas' (the principal Janpadas were Trigarta, a confederacy of six Janapadas, Kalakuta, Kulinderine, Kulutu, Andumbra and Yugandhara), the dynasties that held some sort of political sway over the feudal lords of the region were the Mauryas, the Kushanas and the Guptas. According to R. K. Kaushal (though there is no certainty, as he only infers and does not establish clearly) the hill chiefs also owed allegiance to Harshavardhan and Lalitaditya of Kashmir. During the period of Rajput ascendancy, the Gurjara Pratiharas, the Palas, the Chauhans, the Chandelas, etc. seem to have had greater control over the region. They came to establish many kingdoms as is proved from the various Rajput states that flourished in the region

and ruled until independence. Early Muslim invasions of Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Tughluq, Feroz Shah Tughluq, Sikandar Lodhi, etc., were mere episodes in the present context. From the early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, the Mughals held a loose imperial sway over the hill chiefs. Tribute was levied, state rulers were required to present themselves from time to time at Delhi, offer their sons as hostages and assist in imperial campaigns. After the liquidation of Mughal authority in Panjab by Persian and Afghan invasions, the Sikhs, particularly under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, controlled some parts of Himachal and, lastly, the region passed under the suzerainty of the British. During these centuries, although the hill rulers were conscious of their limited freedom, and had accepted the overlordship of the Mughals, the Sikhs and the British, yet 'each ruler lived as he chose, cementing friendship with other states by inter-marriages or territorial alliances, at times going to war with neighbours and rivals, exacting tribute from the lesser and weaker, or himself paying tribute to the stronger'. Such was the political structure of the region. It should help us in properly understanding the cultural variations

Besides all these, the topography of the region as represented, on one side, by its bleak atmosphere of raw and rugged nature, of awe-inspiring high peaks and swift torrents, etc., and, on the other side, by the mellow beauty of its landscape, pleasant valleys studded with charming hamlets, alpine pastures and forests, lovely lakes, singing streams—all have influenced the cultural trends of the region.

Literature

Although it is probable that the literary movements as represented in Alankara and Riti schools that originated from scholars like Udbhatta and Vamana of Kashmir respectively might have influenced or encouraged literary activity in Himachal particularly in states like Chamba and Trigarta which were associated with Kashmir, yet on the whole literature did not seem to have found a cosy corner in the court of the rulers of Himachal. Himachali literature mainly comprises of the folk literature, and the religious literature, mostly Hindu, in which some rulers showed a lively interest. Folk songs, so popular with the people of Himachal, speak volumes of the rich emotional life of the people besides revealing the richness of thought and imagination of the unknown

local poets. These are composed on a variety of subjects, such as the natural beauty of the region, the unique charm of the hill women, domestic life, feelings of a beloved separated from her lover, pangs of love for the husband who has been forced by circumstances to go out in search of a job, the love tiffs between the young bride and the husband's younger brother, the tyranny of the mother-in-law over the young daughter-in-law, the hard life of the hill women, etc. A few stanzas given below may interest the reader and help him in better understanding the folk literature of the region :

'Gori da chitta lagga
 Chambe diyan dharan
 Chambe diyan dharan
 Pain Phuharan
 Gori da chitta lagga
 Chambe diyan dharan
 Ghar-ghar bindaloo
 Ghar-ghar tikaloo
 Ghar-ghar bankiyan naran
 Gori da chitta lagga
 Chambe diyan dharan.'

(A woman in love with the Chamba hills, its rivers and streams does not want to leave the mellow landscape),

'Tiksi was an attractive girl
 Her beauty a magic band
 The mad dancers like her
 She was a queen of beauty
 Usha, another girl could not tolerate it
 She had some divine power
 She used it
 Tiksi lost all her beauty soon
 And she died
 Alas ! The beauty killed
 Another beauty.'

(It is the substance of a Kinner song as given by Dr. S. S. Shashi. It refers to the unique beauty of hill women, and their jealousy).

'Nadi re katla manro tatra cheeshe
 Jina re roosho sajno
 Tine gi jeevna bolo kisho'

(Refers to the feelings of a beloved separated from her lover. The beloved tells her plight by referring to tatiri bird which remains thirsty even when it lives near a stream).

'Apuu bhi ni aunda
Likhi bhi ni bhejda
Keeyan tan katni
Balari Bares'

(Refers to the pangs of love experienced by a wife in the absence of her husband.)

'Kunja jai paian paprole
Bhabhi rondi dukhadey kholey
Ek pal aai jana deora
O merea lobhiya deora'.

(This song—'Kunja da Geet' refers to the affection between bhabhi and deor, the younger brother of her husband.)

'O, Mother Dhaoladhar
Bend a little
O, bend a little
On this side lies my mother-in-law's place
On the other side lies my father's place
Bend yourself a little
Bend a little
O, Bend a little.'

(Refers indirectly to the harsh behaviour of a mother-in-law. The young bride requests to Dhaoladhar to bend a little so that she may be able to go to her father's house.)

'Jali jayo paharan de des
Amma ji me nahiyon basna'

(Refers to the hard life of a hill-woman and how she refuses to marry in the region).

Besides acquainting us with the culture of the region, and reflecting on the rich emotional life of the people, folk literature occasionally serves a historical purpose too. Some songs still current in the region provide a very useful clue to historical events which otherwise might have remained unknown. For instance, we may mention the popular song of Faten Ram Wazir of Bushahr state which tells us how the extraordinary skill of the Wazir

succeeded in keeping away the Gurkhas in 1815. Similarly, the song of Sidhu Mian in Sirmur tells us about a revolt of the people against the Raja of Sirmur an incident which does not seem to have been mentioned anywhere else.

Some rulers of Himachal patronized or encouraged the dissemination of religious literature. 'If the ruler was piously inclined he would commission copies of standard religious texts—the Vishnu or Shiva Purana, portions of Mahabharata, the Ramayan of Valmiki, the Kiratarjuniya (or "Feats of Arjuna"), the Mahalakshmi and Markandeya Purana (celebrations of the Devi), or even treatises on philosophy or medicine. Raja Kirpal of Basohli, for example, was noted as a scholar and commissioned copies of two Sanskrit treatises on medicine, the Charaka and the Sashruta. Moreover, as Vaishnavism developed, the story of Krishna's life among the cowherds and milkmaids of Brindaban, as recounted in the tenth and eleventh books of the Bhagavata Purana, also became essential reading. On the secular side, love poetry was enjoyed, and especially in Basohli and Nurpur, the *Rasa-manjari* of Bhanudatta, a long poem containing one hundred and sixty-three stanzas, each describing the conduct of the lovers, was popular. In courts affected by Vaishnavism, love-poetry casting Radha and Krishna in the role of lovers gained an added importance. Poems such as *Satsai* (or "700 verses") of Bihari illustrating the modes of lovers, the *Rasikapriya* (or "Lover's Breviary") of Keshav Das, analysing their conduct, and *Baramasas* (poems on love in the twelve months of the year) were sung or recited. The *Gita Govinda* (the "Song of the Herdsman") a Sanskrit poem by Jayadeva, celebrating the vicissitudes of Krishna's romance with Radha, was especially admired in Kangra and Basohli. In all these cases, the response of the ruler, his ladies and his court, would vary greatly. Some would regard such literature as an amiable pastime, a leisure activity, or as an exercise in religion.' Only a few might bring to poetry genuine aesthetic response. The majority of the people, though they might have been acquainted with the religious literature and the poetical compositions discussed above, could not be said to have either read it intensely or shown a keen interest in it. Literary activity must have been restricted to the elite of the society.

Folk Dances and Music

Folk dances, which have been broadly categorised into *nati*

and *ghurayee*, form an important part of the colourful cultural life of the people of Himachal. The tribals of the region have a passion for them. They regard the folk dances as an essential part of their lives, and believe in their magical effects. These dances are performed on a variety of occasions, for example, to commemorate a religious day, to ward off a natural calamity or evil spirits, and to celebrate social functions such as marriage, birth of a son, etc. Besides, the dances, particularly, the tribal dances which are said to have their origin in harnessing labour for the good of the community, are also associated with sowing, harvesting, threshing, hunting and vanquishing the enemy. Thus, dancing is not only an expression of the feeling of joy or aesthetic sensibility or a pastime with the people of Himachal, but also has associations with the welfare of the community at large. There are no professional dancers. All, irrespective of their social position, economic status, caste, class, creed, sect and sex, partake in communal dancing. The women folk are as enthusiastic and free in the matter of dancing as the men, and they do not bother themselves to dance in separate groups, freely taking part in mixed dances. The general style of dance consists of movements and steps, backward and forward, in a circle formed by the adjacent dancers holding the hands of each other, or the dancers are divided in two opposing groups. The swaying of the bodies and the swinging of the hands look fairly graceful. The movements of the steps are controlled by the tempo set by the songs, drums and other musical instruments associated with the performance. As a rule, the dance and the song commence at a slow speed and as the time passes, the tempo of song and musical instruments accelerates, steps and movements quicken, and, towards the end of the performance everything gains a great speed. However, some of the dances have a special *modus operandi*; and certain dances are performed only in a particular region. Some of the important dances of Himachal are the following :

The Lama Devil Dance : This dance is quite popular with the tribals living in the valley of Kinnaur district and Buddhist monks living either in the monasteries or the upper parts of Himachal. It is generally performed to ward off the evil spirits and natural calamities. It reminds us of the raw, rugged and awe-inspiring atmosphere of the region also. In this dance, 'the dancers are masked. Two of them are dressed up as lions. The dance depicts

the taming of the lion which represents evil spirits. The orchestra consists of drums, long lama horns, shehnai, etc.'

Chohara Dance : It is another important dance of the region, performed by the Kinner and Mahasu peoples on almost all important festivals. In it, both men and women participate.

Kayang and Bonyungchu-Chashimig : In Kinnaur, these two types of dances are also quite popular. According to the movement of steps, style of holding hands, variety of songs sung and music played during the dance, *kayang* has been further classified into : *kayang*, *dabarkayazy*, *bangparshimig* and *thungru*. While in *kayang* both men and women participate, in *bonyungchu-chashimig* women do not take part. In this dance, generally the musicians sit in the centre of the dancing arena and individual men dance around them.

Jhanjar Dance : It is performed in the Chamba valley on every festive occasion. Both males and females participate. The dancers are arrayed in two groups. 'As the dance progresses, the two groups interchange their positions. The tempo of the dance is slow in the beginning and gradually rises to an exciting climax.'

Gaddi Dance : As the name suggests, it is performed by Gaddi tribals and has a uniform pattern. In it, both males and females participate, but men and women do not intermingle and instead dance in separate circles.

Shun and Shaboo Dance : These dances are prevalent in the Lahaul and Spiti region. While Shun is performed generally inside a monastery in memory of Lord Buddha, Shaboo dance as associations with festive occasions, and is secular in character.

Japro Dance : It is performed in the Hangrang valley on the occasion of fairs and festivals. Both men and women participate.

Other types of dances popular in the region are Shon, gyukshon, katakapa, shabro, sumgyak, yando-mando, rekshung, shabro yulba, lushen, tali-lamo, tinger, lakpa-kurchi-cheja and mon-shou.

Dodra Kavar Dance : It is performed by the people of Dodra Kavar, an isolated and remote area of Mahasu. In this dance both the people and their gods dance.

Kulu Valley Dances : Kulu valley is also well known for its folk dances. 'Dances here consist of various types, viz. Kharait, Ludi and Banthda, Phili, Pheti and Basahri, Lahuli, and Ujag-jama and Chadhgebrikar. These dances are named as "Nati".'

Kharait is performed with swords, ludi and banthda have a fast tempo. Phili, pheti and basahri are performed during village fairs. Ujagjama and chadhgebrikar represent the climax of the dances with fast tempo. Both men and women participate.

Music

Among the cultural pastimes of the people and the rulers of Himachal, music has also held a place of importance. In fact, it is a natural appendage to folk dances and songs or vice versa. In most of the dances of the region, music is invariably associated. Music controls the tempo of the dances. It is with the beating of the drum or 'nagara' or a tune from some or the other musical instrument that a dance starts, progresses and reaches its climax. Musical instruments generally used in the region are drum, shehnai, duf, dhol, violin, long lama horn, pipe, long trumpet, damroo, tambura, sitar, vina, tabla, cymbal, etc. As music was a principal interest with the rulers of the region too, almost every court had singing girls and musicians. In certain cases, they were free-lances who moved from place to place accepting commissions. 'Alongside their performances went a sophisticated interest in the theory and practice of music, an awareness of the conventional divisions into which the melody modes ragas and sub-modes (raginis and putras) were grouped and a knowledge of the associations in poetry of the various modes. In contrast to other areas, the hills had their own form of classification—large, complex, and erudite. Six ragas or princes, each with five raginis or queens, were common to both systems, but in the hills each raga had eight further sub-modes (his putras or sons). The sounds of birds, rabbits, deers, bulls and thundering clouds were often cited in the accompanying verses as parallels to the principal notes employed. Such verses acted as an index to the music, treating each mode and sub-mode as if it were a human personage. The verse was not intended to be sung to the music but rather to identify its special properties. Provided the mood of the song was appropriate, any poem could be sung to any raga.'

ART

General History

The art of Himachal is largely religious art. The two religions manifested in art are Hinduism and Buddhism. It was probably about 3000 B. C. that the art of the region began to take shape 'around the fertility symbol of the divine yogi of the Himalaya, the Shiva proto-type of the Indus Valley Civilization. The Aryan

seminomads took over the Indus Valley symbols and infused into them the spirit of their gods of the element.' The anthropomorphic themes which came to be predominant in the early art of the region were the image of the divinity associated with the phallus (Lingam), Mithuna, and man-animal configuration. It was only in the middle of the third century B. C. when a large part of India got politically unified under the great Mauryan emperor Ashoka, that 'art forms tended more and more towards "realism" and eventually evolved into a definite style as seen on the 2nd century B. C. Buddhist monuments. The process of developing art produced a greater variety of symbols and styles, especially after the image of the Buddha was invented in the first century A. D. during the brief Kushana interlude of power.' The Kunindas, Audumbaras, Vrishnis and Kapisthalas that inhabited the valleys of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej were the vassals of the Kushanas and under their rule the Buddhist art of the plains began to infiltrate the hills as is evident from the ruins of a stupa at Chetru near Kangra. When Kushana Power was shaken by the Bharashivas of Bundelkhand, the Hindu influence gradually increased, and a new sect called Lakulpashupata (the sect originated with an ascetic of Pashupati) took root in the region with the establishment of important centres at Maruta Math Udaipur in Chamba-Lahaul and Gurughantal in Lahaul-Spiti. With the ascendancy of the Guptas, art attained new heights of perfection and slowly the Gupta art in its more standardized, set and refined forms began to penetrate into the hills and shape the art of the region. It is believed that the Gupta art flourished in the region particularly in the Siwalik hills, for the first time in the 6th-8th Century A. D., first under Yashodharman and then under the Mukhairs and the Mushyabhutis.

However, it may be noted that our knowledge of the early art in Himachal is very limited, and is based on vague hints as provided by monumental ruins like a stupa at Chetru, and such relics as the coins of the Audumbaras (2nd-3rd century A. D.) which depict railings resembling those which were erected around the early Buddhist stupas. Even the region's heritage of the imperial Gupta art tradition has been deduced from the transition in style from the cube-like early Gupta shrines to the medieval temple towers.

From the 7th century onward, in the upper parts of Himachal, particularly, in Lahaul and Spiti, the local art seems to have been

much influenced by developments in Tibet and the personality of Padmasambhava, who at Riwalsar, in the panjab hills, is belived to have given a popular basis to the mystical elements of Tantric philosophy and iconography. Now three deities—Vajrapani, Avalokiteshvara and Manjushri—came to be repeatedly depicted in hundreds of monasteries in the Himalayas. Most of the Buddhist shrines also began to keep the image of sage Padamasambhava. In the Siwalik hills, under Meruvarman of **Brahmor**, who is regarded either as the contemporary of Lalitaditya Muktapida or is believed to have ruled in the later 7th century A.D. the art came to be influenced to a great extent by the Kashmiri style. Some pieces such as Shulapani-Shiva and Parvati sitting on Nandi show the absorption of the Meruvarman style into the Kashmiri sphere of influence. Lahaul also had some impact as it was occupied by Brahmor in about A.D. 600. During the period when a tripartite struggle for Kanauj started, many artistic changes took place in the region under the Pratiharas, the Palas, the Chandellas, etc. Under Nagabhata II and Mihir Bhoja I, there developed a new powerful and aggressive style, and a jolt was given to the sophisticated elegance of art styles in the Himalaya. 'Terrible and majestic figures, with stiff expressions, ponderous looks and scant ornaments, were mainly depicted in the more demoniac manifestations of Shiva and his consort Parvati. Also popular were the sons of the deities, the elephant-headed Ganesha and powerful Karttikeya with his six heads.' However, it may be noted that 'the Kashmiri style, evolved under Lalitaditya and refined under the patronage of Avantivarman and Shankaravarman, continued to be practised in the Siwalik region, west of Ravi. By the middle of the 9th century A.D. after Bhoja's ambitions in the north-west had been checked by the kingdom of Kashmir, a critical point seems to have been reached also in the art style of the hills. The classical art of the later Guptas, refined and polished in the sophisticated courts of Lalitaditya of Kashmir and Meruverman of Brahmor, clashed with the rustic, forth right and down-to-earth style of Kanauj. The result apparently was the development of two paralld styles which, in one form or the other continued to be practised in succeeding centuries. Even in the 10th century A.D. when these areas at last developed into a pure Rajput vassal state of the Pratiharas and the later Pratihara art forms became more elegant, the early Pratihara art forms continued to be preserved in the hills. They owe their existence not so much to the patronage of the rulers as to the loyalty of the

common people : this style produced a sympathetic response in the folk art and cults practised by local tribes, such as the Gurjaras, Khashas, Gaddis, etc.' However, it was in stone that the clash between the two styles, Kashmiri and the rustic art forms of Kanauj, was more pronounced than in the casting of bronze. As pointed above, Pala art did influence the art of the region but the consolidation of the Pala style was rather gradual as it was mainly brought by the refugee artists.

After the dissolution of the Pratihara empire, a variety of stylistic influences started pouring in the hills from Western India, of these the important ones came from the Chauhan, Parmara, Rathor and Chandel Rajput communities. However, the impact of these new ideas was of limited value because on the one side their stylistic tradition and artistic conventions were mainly the off-shoots of Pratihara art, and on the other side, with a few exceptions, the Siwalik region got divided into small states and thus lacked centralized art patronage. Now the emphasis shifted to the indigenous art style, a natural concomitant. The indigenous art style that developed in the following years produced some very peculiar but most striking pieces of art such as the stone sculpture of Kalidevi, Triloknath temple, Mandi. This indigenous art style in sculpture which was more or less a mixture of various styles and was based on indigenous resources came to be known as the Pahari style in sculpture.

With the passage of time some changes again took place in art style and emphasis. Excessive ritualistic symbolism and elaborate imagery were discarded. There emerged a new style, which was simple, romantic and more secular. In the Panjab hills, this style blossomed into Pahari paintings during the later part of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Sculpture

The art of sculpture-making which includes the art of carving, especially in stone, the art of clay-modelling or moulding for casting or shaping in relief, is one of the important expressions of art that has been practised in the hills since times immemorial. Although broad hints about sculpturing in the region can be gathered from the preceding pages where frequent references to the subject matter and style of sculpturing have been made while discussing the general history of art, yet a discussion on some of the important sculptures found in different shrines will be interesting and more illuminating. The sculpture of the region, according

to subject-matter, can be classified into four categories : (i) the images of Hindu deities, (ii) the images of Buddha or Bodhisattavas or Buddhist deities, (iii) demon gods, and (iv) royal personages.

Images of Hindu Deities

As noted above, the Hindu deities whose images had been engraved, carved or shaped in relief were that of Shiva and Vishnu, mostly represented with their consorts, Parvati and Lakshmi, and other religious accompaniments. Some of the important sculptures found in the region are Shulapani—Shiva and Parvati, standing with Nandi.

This sculpture was found in the Ravi Valley, halfway between Chamba and Brahmor. This piece of art, showing figures of Shiva and Parvati with bull Nandi, standing on a Gupta plinth or platform and chiselled in the Gupta style, also reflecting strong Kashmiri influences, seems to belong to the early period when Maukhari-Gupta influence had not completely overwhelmed the Sassano-Kushana art of Gandhara.

Shulapani-Shiva and Parvati sitting on Nandi

This piece belongs to the 8th-9th century A. D., and was found at Chatrarhi, a village near Chamba. Besides its age, the sculpture is especially 'interesting both iconographically and stylistically in comparison with Shulapani-Siva and Parvati standing with Nandi (referred to above). The plinth, as well as the general conception of the bronze piece, is still distinctly Gupta in style, but the bull Nandi is now conventionally lying down in a relaxed position with all four legs drawn in...The slim, elegant bodies covered with almost transparent clothes, the high diadem decorated with jewelled flowers above each ear, from which scarves flow down on the shoulders, resemble the manner of casting seen in the famous image of Shakti Devi in the Chatrarhi temple.' According to tradition, this piece of art is said to be the last work of Gugga, the master artisan of Meruvarman.

Karttikeya

The sculpture belongs to 9th-10th centuries A. D., and is available in the small temple of Khaknal between Kulu and Mandi. It represents the changes which took place under the Pratihara rulers Nagabhatta II and Mihir Bhoja I. Karttikeya's 'massive broad shoulders, the symmetrical archaic arches formed by his two principal hands and the inscrutable expressions on his six

faces are here completely in harmony with the sturdy, rough conception of the peacock standing behind this god of war.' Karttikeya is considered to be the son of Shiva, born without a female's intervention, and is worshipped in the Himalayas as a god who keeps open the passes in the mountains.

Vishnu and Lakshmi

In this piece of art, though the Gupta canon is still more or less intact, Pratihara influences are also clearly visible. The strength displayed by Vishnu's broad chest and shoulders, his majestic erect posture, the stern expression on his face—all go to explain the changes that have come under Kanauj and Pratihara influences. The piece belongs to the 10th century A. D. and was found at Chamba.

Mahishasuramardini

The sculpture was found at Bajaura temple, Kulu, and belongs to the late 10th Century A. D. This seems to be the work of refugee artisan from eastern India, and reflects Pala art influences.

Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garuda

This piece of art belonging to the 13th-14th centuries A. D. was found at Bilaspur. It represents a shift to the indigenous art style after the dissolution of the Pratihara empire and the division of Siwalik into a number of small principalities. The sculpture has been done in the Pahari style of sculpture.

Kali Devi

This art-piece also belongs to the 13th-14th centuries A.D. and is found in the Trilokinath temple, Mandi. Here the artist does not seem to have followed the cliches set by the accepted schools of medieval India. The shape of the sculpture is rather more in harmony with the block or the slab of stone out of which the figure has been chiselled.

Mahadeva

This beautiful art-piece, now at Mandi in a private temple of the erstwhile raja, represents the finest in the Pahari style of stone sculpture.

Panchanana Shiva

This sculpture found in the Panchavaktra temple at Mandi, belongs to the 14th century A.D. The peculiar feature of the image of Panchanana Shiva is that 'its five faces are not placed in one row, as is usually the case (Karttikeya) but in such a way

that the fourth face is on the reverse and the fifth on the top of the sculpture. The image is conceived somewhat like the Shikhara (tower) of a Hindu temple which, like the Buddhist stupa, was interpreted as sacrificial microcosm of the world.'

Triloknath

It is a masterpiece of art in the pahari style, and is found in the Triloknath temple at Mandi. The sculptor, 'having refused to conform either to natural forms or to accepted models of established schools, successfully accomplished a masterpiece based on passionate remodelling of perspective. It is ranked among those pieces of ancient art which, though they touch the innermost chords of aesthetic sensibility in the modern mind, are not like abstract sculptures of our own time, in which objects became slowly less recognisable.'

Shiva Ardhanari

It is another most interesting sculpture in the Pahari style, found in a temple at Mandi. The image is regarded to be the 'logical development of the trend which considered the male to be the personification of the passive aspect, and the female the activating energy (Shakti). Though apparently opposite, they are essentially one and shown in this sculpture, literally transformed into one body of mystical union of the divine. The right half of this figure represents Shiva and the left Parvati.'

Copper and Silver Masks of Devi

In the Bhakhli temple, Bhakhli, there is a 'Copper Mask of Devi' and a 'Silver Mask of Devi' belonging to the 16th-17th centuries A.D. These masks represent the most typical of Siwalik's art forms, drawing their inspiration from the indigeneous tradition of folk art. These masks are regarded as the formidable art link in the entire Himalayas. These also indicate the changing art styles in the region, which was gradually becoming the exclusive province of Rajput influences.

Buddhist Sculpture

Most of the Buddhist sculptures are found in the monasteries of Lahaul and Spiti. The followers of the Vajrayana school of Buddhism, besides mural paintings, have also done some sculpturing. Some of the important Buddhist sculptures found in the region are :

Avalokiteshvara—A Marble Head

This piece of art belongs to the 8th century A.D., and is in the Gurughantal monastery, Lahaul. The sculpture consists of only a marble head, and is said to have been consecrated by Padmasambhava himself, which is quite possible considering its age. The art-piece, however, is regarded by far the finest of all the strong Gupta sculptures of 7th-8th centuries A.D. traced at Kulu, Kangra, Chamba, etc.

Bodhisattva Manjushri

The sculpture is in the Nako monastery, Spiti, and belongs to 10th-11th centuries A.D. It is in bronze, and reflects clearly Pala inspiration. Though Manjushri is represented in various forms, in the sculpture, the simplest form has been depicted.

Marichi Vajravarahi

This beautiful art-piece belongs to 11th-12th centuries A.D., and is in Gemur monastery, Lahaul. The sculpture is in clay, studded with precious stones, gold and silver, and is Kashmiri in style. The figure of the goddess is lovely and sophisticated.

Avalokiteshvara of Tabo Monastery

The sculpture goes back to the 15th century A.D., and it is one of the earliest Buddhist deities depicted with several heads, arms and eyes. In the sculpture the arms have been shown like spokes of a wheel, 'contained in the shape of a scallop shell, while an open eye on the palm of every hand represents the inexhaustible mystery of the divine'.

Demon Gods

In Himachal, the land of gods, people believe much in spirits, devils, magic, sorcery and superstition. The harsh and awe-inspiring aspects of Nature continue frequently reminding them of the terrible manifestations of the gods and goddesses. The local gods of the region are also of two types, namely good gods and demon gods. The demon gods are believed to save the people from the bad effects of evils and spirits. Consequently, a large number of sculptures found in the region also include on one side the terrible manifestations of great gods and on the other side the images of local demon gods, popular in the region. The sculpture of 'A Lord of Soil' placed over the famous monastery of Kye in Spiti is nothing but a frightful manifestation of a god.

So is the case with 'A Wooden Mask' found in the Gurughantal monastery, Lahaul. It is a reflection of the Spirits and devils of Bon-po beliefs about witchcraft, wizardry and superstition. The fantastic figure of 'A Pancharaksha Goddess' found in the Tayal monastery near Keylong, though in mural, belongs to the category of demon gods. 'Chief of the Pancha Rakshas (five protectors) is sahasrapramardini, who is dedication of a spell to ward off earthquakes and storms. The other goddesses are Mahamantranusarini to the east protecting the world from all disease; Mahapratishara to the south averting evil forces and physical dangers; Maha-sitavati guarding against ferocious animals and evil plants; and Maha-mayuri representing spells against snake bites.' The sculpture of Mahishasuramardini, Bajaura temple, Kulu, belonging to the late 10th century A.D. is also a demoniac appearance of the Devi, who is believed to have manifested herself in such a fantastic posture as to kill the demon King Mahishasura. As mentioned above, there are also a large number of sculptures of local demon gods such as 'Dumi god' in the Simla hills. Sculpturing in the case of local demon gods, seems to have been done by local artisans. Most of them are crude in style and workmanship.

Royal Personages

Besides these religious themes in sculpturing, some of the artists have also worked on secular figures. Of these the important ones are those of the rajas, ranis, and their ministers or of the donors. In secular sculpturing the artist had a comparatively free hand and was less inhibited by the sensitive aesthetic theories or preordained clichés of scholastic theoreticians. In 'A Royal Personage' found at Kulu, belonging to the 11th century A. D., the sculptor seems to have exercised much freedom, though the figure is based on the concept of elongated limbs of Pala art and Kashmiri stylization. Similar is the case with the sculptures—'A Rajput Prince' and 'A Rajput Princess', found at Nagur. These art-pieces belong to the 16th-17th centuries A. D. when set rules about modelling must have become least important with the emergence of new reform movements of popular mysticism. It was also a period when painting began increasingly to capture the imagination of the rulers, and sculpturing seems to have receded into the background.

PAHARI PAINTINGS

Origin

The general theory about the origin of Pahari paintings is

associated with the dispersal of artists of the Mughal school during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb. It is said that when the artists were turned out of the Mughal courts either because of the fanatical attitude of the ruler or because of depleted treasury, or because of turbulent conditions created by foreign invasions and internal disturbances, they turned towards peaceful surroundings, and sought shelter with the rulers of the Panjab hill states. Thus, began to develop the art of painting in the hills. However, many scholars like M. S. Randhawa and V. C. Ohri have expressed grave doubts against the validity of this theory. They assert that the art of painting was known in the hills even before the reign of Raja Kirpal Pal (1678-94) of Basohli. In his article, 'The Origins of Pahari Paintings', published in *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXVIII Nos. 1 & 2, New Delhi, V. C. Ohri has vigorously defended the early origin of Pahari paintings. His conclusions, as based on the analytical study of the limits of Rajasthani school, paintings in an old temple in the fort of Nurpur, paintings of Raja Chhattar Singh of Chamba (1664-90) and material used in the early paintings of the region, are quite convincing. It is possible that paintings, may be primitive in style, existed in the hills before the emergence of the so-called Basohli school of paintings. However, a flair for painting must have developed at a much later date, and might have been the outcome of the visits of the hill rulers to Mughal courts, and to their relatives in Rajasthan or Central India as in the case of Kahlur and Baghal states, whose rulers were the descendants of the Chandellas of Bundelkhand. According to W.G. Archer, the development of paintings in Himachal saw three distinct phases. 'In a first and early phase, coinciding with part of the seventeenth century, miniatures were produced in styles of bold magnificence and primitive simplicity. In a middle, transitional phase lasting from about 1720 to 1750, styles of greater naturalism developed under Mughal influence. The third and last phase covered the century 1750 to 1850 and beyond, when romance and religion were interpreted with lyrical delicacy and charm.

Most of the paintings produced during these three phases were of two kinds—murals and miniatures. Murals were often nothing but enlarged miniatures. The main difference between the two was of the surface used. While murals were almost invariably painted on the walls of the royal palaces, important shrines and monasteries, miniatures were drawn on stiff sheets of hand-made paper often less than eighteen inches long and were executed in

gonache on a prepared ground. Generally, miniatures were kept in portfolios or in bundles wrapped in cloth but occasionally these were pinned on the walls too, and served as auspicious adjuncts to important occasions. The purpose of painting differed from ruler to ruler. Some of the hill chiefs were interested in painting simply as another pastime, some had religious purpose and used the art of painting for the adoration and worship of God, some had encouraged the art for romantic purposes and got the classical love lyrics translated into line and colour, and some had used paintings for their own glory and celebration. Most of the rulers, however, seemed to have applied the art of painting to more than one purpose.

Schools of Painting

Besides a survey of the origin, development, kinds and purposes of Pahari paintings, a discussion on the schools of painting that flourished in the region is very essential, because without it our study of the subject would be incomplete.

Basohli School

Although there is a controversy about the origin of the Basohli school of Painting, yet it cannot be denied that it is the earliest known Hill School of Painting in the region. It is so called after the small town and former state (annexed by the Jammu-Kashmir State in 1836) of Basohli on the Ravi. The school seems to have attained great importance from the time of Raja Kirpal Pal, and the style of painting that developed under its influence dominated painting in the Panjab hills during the later 17th and most of the 18th century. The Basohli style is medieval in spirit, a synthesis of the folk art of the hills and of Mughal technique. While transparent draperies of the figures are clearly Mughal the facial formula remains local. No doubt the Basohli style lacks the refinement and rhythmic lines so characteristic of the Kangra school of painting, but the vigour and simplicity of composition and colour scheme make up the deficiency and add to the beauty and charm of Basohli paintings. Colours have been used symbolically, yellow for spring, blue for the fertile rains and clouds and red for love. 'Large and alluring eyes, blazing with passion, loose tresses falling on the forehead, masculine figure, receding forehead, long downward nose, liberal use of ornaments, use of "finger language", are, in the case of women, some of the most characteristic features of Basohli paintings. Males also wear ornaments. Liberal use of gold and silver paints and vigorous

use of primary colours, deep and red borders, painted in a simple style in yellow, blue and red are also distinguishing features of Basohli Kalam.' The central inspiration of the paintings is Vaishnavism; Vishnu in his incarnation of Lord Krishna predominates in the paintings of Basohli school. Life stories of Lord Krishna and his frolics with the milk-maids, stories from the Ramayana, illustrations to that great lyric depicting Radha-Krishna love, Gita Govinda, Baramasa, Ragmala, etc., form the theme of most of the paintings. There are also pictures of love's intensity called Nayak-Nayika pictures. Besides, royal personages also form the subject matter of Basohli paintings.

Kangra School

The Kangra school of painting, the most brilliant of all the Hill schools, had its roots in Guler, a politically insignificant small state. It was in Guler that the second important phase of Pahari painting began during the reign of Govardhan Chand (c. 1745-73) who sheltered some of the artists turned out from the Mughal courts. As Guler did not remain independent for a long period and was absorbed by Kangra, the Guler style that originated here but prospered in Kangra under Sansar Chand came to be known as Kangra style. Thus, the Kangra school of painting refer to the art of painting that developed in the Kangra valley at Guler, and Nurpur and Tira-Sujanpur, and Alampur and Nadaun—the places connected with Maharaja Sansar Chand. It is only *strictu sensu*, Kangra style refers to the style that emerged in Guler and Kangra. Such a definition, which confines art to narrower limits, is generally avoided in the discussion of subjects like art.

Kangra Kalam, influenced and nurtured by the neighbouring schools, has lent a valuable prestige to the last phase of the history of Indian painting. Like Basohli Kalam, Kangra style is also a synthesis of 'Mughal technique of painting, the inspiration of Vaishnavism, the charm of Sanskrit poetry, the beauty of the people of the Kangra Valley and the lovely landscape of the Panjab Hills'. The main characteristics of the technique of the Kangra paintings are delicate line, charm of colour and ornamentation. Though the artists had not developed a sense of perspective, the deficiency does not affect the beauty of the paintings. The beauty of art-pieces is kept intact by the refined and rhythmic lines and other high qualities of miniatures. While the beauty of Kangra women is recorded in serene curves, expressing, draped or not, a blank, almost featureless nakedness with flat, cold colour, the

moments of ecstasy are depicted in facial expressions and bodily attitudes. Kangra painters have shown the eyes more in profile than the rest of the face, and they look ellipsoidal like almonds. Kangra painters never show the teeth, the moments of delight have been depicted only by the slightly upturned lips. Emotion and faith, joy and sorrow, and love and romance pervade the Kangra paintings. Hardly are there many pictures which have been painted without bringing love, poetry and music into them. Over-emphasis on these aspects, perhaps, has led some critics to describe the Kangra paintings as unashamedly romantic. They contend that Kangra painting does not say anything to our time, and does not want to. All it seeks is to delight us, and that it does through every line in every plate.' However, love does not seem to have been shown merely in erotic forms rather spiritual and aesthetic, human and divine aspects have been blended by the artists. Human themes of love and disappointment are lifted to the plane of divinity, and what one finds in their lyrics in line and colour is the expression of a process of sublimation.

The central theme of Kangra paintings is also Vishnu's eighth incarnation, Lord Krishna, and his beloved Radha. Maharaja Sansar Chand was a devotee of Sri Krishna, and the Bhagavata Purana had been his 'family bible'. Other classical literary works that inspired the Kangra artists were the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, the Satsai of Bihari Lal, the Rasikapriya of Keshvadas of Orchha, etc. Lord Krishna has been depicted driving cows to pasture, feasting in a forest, playing on his magic flute, squirting and being squirted in a crowded street at the festival of colour, dancing for his mistress, or just in love, dallying with the cow-girls of Gokul and Brindaban, etc. In short, Krishna-lila forms one of the basic features of Kangra painting. But this does not mean that the Kangra artists have completely neglected the earthly creation. Portraits of rulers, glory of princes, loves of nobles, the ordinary life of the region, the Kangra man, the beautiful landscape, the natural vegetation, the grass in the shade of trees of varied foliage, wild animals such as leopards, elephants, tigers, deer, etc., have been depicted with equal enthusiasm.

Arki School

Baghal was a small state in the Simla hills, whose capital was Arki. The rulers of the state also seem to have encouraged the art of painting. In the beginning, they followed the early Basohli style as is evident from the portraits of Rana Mehr Chand

(1727-43) and Rana Bhup Chand (1743-78), and later seem to have been attracted by the Kangra style. It was during the reigns of Raja Jagat Singh, Raja Shiv Saran Singh and Kishan Singh that the Kangra style developed and flourished in the state. A number of temples were constructed which were decorated with mural paintings. Gradually Arki seems to have developed its own independent style—the Arki style, as is evident from the painting at Arki, which differ in colour from all the known Kangra paintings. The paintings at Arki deal with Krishna legend, Shiv Parvati strips and the nayak-nayika themes of Rasikapriya of Keshavadas.

Chamba Paintings

It was during the reign of Raja Udai Singh that the art of painting got royal patronage for the first time in Chamba. As in the case of Arki, the early paintings at Chamba were also in the rugged Basohli Kalam. It was only in the later part of the 18th century that the art of painting was influenced by the Guler style or pre-Kangra style. Nikha seems to be the master-artist during the period. However, in the 19th century paintings, the sway of Kangra Kalam is clearly visible.

Besides painting the portraits of the rulers, the theme of Chamba paintings has been the depiction of Hindu religious deities. In one of the paintings, Brahma, flanked on the right by Vishnu and Lakshmi, and, on the left, by Shiva and Parvati has been depicted while in another Kali Devi has been shown. However, Vishnu in his two incarnations—Krishna and Rama—forms the subject matter of most of the Chamba paintings.

In addition to these main centres, the art of painting, both in Basohli and Kangra styles, became popular in many other states of Himachal such as Bandralta, Bangahal, Bashahr, Jasrota, Hindur, Kahlur, Kulu, Mandi, Mankot, Sirmur, Suket, etc. Mural painting, however, seems to have remained confined mostly to Chamba, Arki, Dadasiba, Dharamsala, Dhamthal, Kanthal, Nadaun, Nurpur Sujampur Tira, Mandi and Kulu, where still many specimens of murals exist.

Architecture

Though there are many old monasteries and temples in Himachal, our knowledge about the temple architecture of the region is still very limited. Broadly speaking, there are three types of shrines in the Pradesh : (i) those of the great Hindu deities such as Shiva, Vishnu or Shakti, (ii) those of the local gods and demon

gods; and (iii) Buddhist monasteries. While the temples of the local gods have been built mostly by the Ranas and Thakurs of the region, and are simple in style, the temples of great deities have been constructed either by rajas and emperors or under their direction, and are somewhat complex. In their construction, the ancient architectural principles as laid in Vastu Shastra seem to have been employed. Besides, the architecture of the region has been influenced by the style of architecture followed in Barhut, Sanchi, Budh-gaya and Mathura monuments. Almost all the temples have been constructed on the Indo-Aryan or the North-Indian style of architecture, where the sikhara or the high tower-like super-structure has the appearance of a solid mass of curvilinear tower, bulging in the middle and ending in almost a point. We hardly find any example of the Dravidian type in which the Sikhara looks like a pyramid made up of successive storeys each smaller than, and receding a little from, the one beneath it.

Most of the monasteries in the region are to be found in Lahaul and Spiti. These have been mostly built in the niches of the hills. It is, perhaps, only the Tabo monastery in Himachal which, unlike the other monasteries in the Himalayan region, has been built on flat land. The architectural style that has been followed in the construction of monasteries in the region is the general and the simple monastery style where there are a number of structures leading to the main Gompa on the summit. There are also built many stupas around the main shrine. Most of the ancient monasteries in the region seem to have been built with mud of sun-dried bricks.

Preservation and Promotion of Himachal Culture

As is quite obvious from the discussion above, Himachal has undoubtedly a rich cultural heritage. Its art treasures contain some of the most ancient and superb pieces of art, which 'reflect great periods in the history of Asia and the world in the same way as the ruins of Pompeii give an insight into the civilization of Rome at its height.' These further remind us of the great civilizations and cultures that developed in India from time to time, and serves in many cases a link between the past and the present. But alas! there has been neglect, and exodus of art-treasures of the region. This is more true in the case of paintings. While between the year 1916 and the following half a century, a large number of the finest miniatures have been exported out of India, some of the fine murals have either been obliterated by



fresh paintings of no great merit (as is evident from the Secretary, Lalit Kala Akademi, B. C. Sanyal's account of the Tabo and Ki monasteries) or disappeared with the destruction of the shrines and palaces on the walls of which the work had been done. In spite of the comparative inaccessibility of the region, there has been pilferage of sculptures too. Therefore, in order to preserve the culture of Himachal as reflected in art-pieces, sculptures, paintings and monuments, the Government, besides opening more museums, should make concerted efforts to check obliteration, pilferage, and export of art-pieces. To regain the lost art-pieces, copies of the paintings exported out of India be obtained, erstwhile rulers and private collectors be persuaded to sell or donate their collections to the state museum or at least permit their reproduction. The Government should also encourage more and more Indian connoisseurs to take up the serious study of these art treasures. Lastly, in consultation and collaboration *Archeological Survey of India*, special measures should be taken for the conservation, preservation and scientific documentation of the art contents.

There is a equally great necessity to preserve the folk culture of Himachal as expressed in the folklore, dances and folk songs. Many authors have drunk deep at the fountains of the feelings of Pahari people. They have been inspired to write about their rugged life, their struggle against nature, and have given birth to beautiful pieces of art—novels, short stories, paintings portraits, sculptures and so on, which speak volumes of the tyranny of nature against which their innocent, soft-hearted people are pitted.

Yet we are being made increasingly conscious of the fact that this glory is waning. The passage of time has carved deep furrows and much of the literature that we now read is but a mutilation of the original. This is so because the Pahari folks are largely illiterate and live far away from the cradles of civilization. Hence, they do not have any means to transmit these pieces of culture to the world. The Government must look into this phase lest these marvellous pieces of culture should fall a prey to the pilferings or mutilation. The mass media such as radio, news-papers, magazines should incorporate these pieces. Cultural shows should be organized where people from the plains can also take part. Researchers should also be encouraged to take up topics associated with the cultural life of the region.

